

INSIDE: Japan's ultimatum to Dome

Maclean's

MARCH 5, 1984

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWS MAGAZINE

\$1.25

The Middle East's New Strongman

—
**How
Syria's
Assad
gained
control**

President Hafez al-Assad



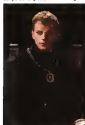
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Tradens prolongs the game
The Prime Minister turned the re-election watch into a saucer, and a brewing patronage scandal overshadowed speculation about his personal plans — **Page 14**



A passionate epitaph
Months after the curtain rose on the Grand Theatre Company's sexually charged *Hamlet* last week, its artistic director, Robin Phillips, announced his exit — **Page 63**

COVER

The Middle East's strongman
Behind the growing string of Maclean magazine covermen on the battleground of Beirut stood one of the region's most potent politicians, Syrian President Hafez al-Assad. Calculating and ruthless, Assad has emerged as the clear winner in Lebanon and now appears to be the most important power broker in determining the future of the Middle East. — **Page 20**

1984 ASSAD in Lebanon—Pines



View from the heavens
Last week a U.S. astronaut previewed a film shot during the most recent shuttle flight, and it provided stunning footage of what an astronaut sees in space — **Page 47**



Rumors of a royal romance
Britain's Prince Andrew spent his 24th birthday at the home of 20-year-old fashion model Kate Rabett, and a secret romance became public — **Page 63**

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Olympic omission

In 1948 a Royal Canadian Air Force hockey team, coached by Frank Souter, was the Olympic gold hockey medal for Canada at St. Moritz, while Barbara Scott was the gold for figure skating. How has this double gold been overlooked by our reporters for so long (Canada's Olympic preview, Cover Story, Feb. 1)? I believe that should be a record of note and pride for all Canadians.

GEOFF B. FORBES
Grosse Pointe, Fla.

While Peter Gwynne's essay was a magnificent piece of writing on the history of Canadian participation in the Olympic Winter Games and the bright prospects for medals in Sarajevo, it should be noted that the article made some errors as to the history and the correct name of the Olympic Winter Games (Canada's Olympic preview, Cover, Feb. 6). It stated, "Since 1924, when the first Olympic was held at Chamonix, France, there have been 100 gold medals awarded." The original title of the first Olympic Winter Games was The Chamonix International Winter Sports Festival. The festival was to be a prelude to the Summer Games of 1924, and the winter events were to be administered by the International Olympic Committee.

—SOCIETY THOMAS TAKAHASHI,
Wentz, Ont.

Evaluating the King-Bill tradition

Your article Andrew Hall's tradition of confidence (Cover, Jan. 8) was an interesting, but in one respect a misleading, item. Liberal Prime Minister Mackenzie



Opening ceremonies at Sarajevo: pride

King was not denied a dissolution by Gov. Gen. Lord Byng of Vimy for failing "to put together a coalition." There was much more to it than that, and thoughtful historians now generally find the episode far more to the Prime Minister's discredit than the Governor General's.

—KENNETH HEATH MACQUARRIE,
Ottawa

A private matter of choice

I read with considerable dismay your article *The pro-life boycott* (Press, Jan. 30). Whether I agree or disagree with the pro-life movement is not the issue. It appears to me that such a small group of people should feel it has the right to pressure through boycott the freedom of thought and choice of 28 million Canadians. I sincerely hope that Canada Packers Inc., Carnation Inc. and any other company advertising in *Homemaker's* magazine have the courage to support the Canadian democratic ideals of freedom of thought and choice rather than succumbing to a small, bitter, narrow-minded group. I strongly believe the issue of abortion is a very personal, private matter. No person should be bullied into a choice either for or against the act.

—DANIEL MELLA,
Victoria

Left out once again

In regard to A forty annual on Medicare (Canada, Jan. 20) and the chart that was used to compare the "price of health" across Canada: we residents of the Yukon and Northwest Territories are well-served and babies too. How come we got left out again? Is it any wonder that people think of Canada in terms of 10 provinces only?

—REY RUCKWAY,
Whitehorse

PASSAGES

DEED: David, 22, the "bubble boy," of heart failure, in Houston (page 48).

APPOINTMENT: Quebec Liberal ex-Gilles Lamontagne, 54, a former cabinet minister and mayor of Quebec City, as lieutenant-governor of Quebec by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau. He replaces Jean-Pierre Côté, 58, who served as attorney six years with a Parti Québécois government with which Lamontagne's compatibility. Lamontagne's staff has been reduced from 11 to two.

DEED: Mikhail A. Sholeikhov, 76, the Soviet author of *And Quiet Flows the Don* and the only Soviet government-sponsored writer to win the Nobel Prize for literature (1980), in Vancouver, U.S.S.R. Sholeikhov, a Soviet Communist, edited disident conspiracy-like *Alexander Solzhenitsyn*, who in turn created a major literary controversy by accusing Sholeikhov of plagiarizing sections of his last-volume novel.

DEED: Ina Ray Hutton, 67, one of the first women to become a successful band leader, of compositions from *disables* in Ventura, Calif. Hutton sang with Harry James and Artie Shaw and formed her first all-female band in 1934. Hutton released her weekly variety show in 1956.

DEED: Claude Hopkins, 50, the jazz pianist who led one of the most famous bands to emerge from Harlem in the 1930s, of a heart attack, in New York. Hopkins's band was most famous for its theme song, *I Would Do Anything for You*, which he wrote.

DEED: Thomas Kilian, 65, former editor, novelist and radio scriptwriter, of a heart attack, in Toronto. Kilian wrote five detective novels and created the character Willie Maklos for the national CBC Radio show *Shores With John Dunsen*, which ran from 1968 to 1982.

FREE: Karen Mitchell, 22, the Grills, Ont., woman jailed for contempt of court after refusing to testify against the man she charged with assault by the Ontario Court of Appeal. The court reduced her three-month sentence to two weeks, which she had served.

DEED: Jessamyn West, 31, author of *The Friendly Persimmon*, of a stroke, in Napa, Calif. In 1968 Allied Artists made *The Friendly Persimmon*—West's first book—into a movie starring Gary Cooper and Dorothy McGuire. West's other novels include *Mosses* at Fall Creek and *State of Sleep*. Los Angeles, listed just before her death.

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An MD's expenses

In your article *A hefty assault on multi-care* (Canada, Jan 25) you cited Health and Welfare Canada as reporting that the average annual income of doctors "ranged from \$158,000 in Prince Edward Island to \$302,000 in Alberta." This is blatant misrepresentation. Those figures reflect the average gross incomes of full-time doctors—i.e., the total remuneration from provincial medical plans and other sources. It is well known that to generate such incomes an overhead averaging 35 to 40 per cent (office rent, operating expenses, staff salaries) must be paid out of the doctor's gross income. The true average income, therefore, ranges from \$80,000 to \$116,000. (The average is lower still if physicians not in full-time practice—because of administrative, teaching, research or family commitments—are included.) No doubt most doctors are well paid. Why does the press, however, so frequently exaggerate their incomes? Current arguments can be made that extra-billing is not in the public interest. But let's base these arguments on facts, not falsehoods. —DR. ROBERT JEN, *Halifax*

Beyond the Nestlé boycott

It is good to know that I can go back to using my favorite chocolate milk mix (The end of the long Nestlé boycott, Health, Feb. 6). However, just because Nestlé's will now comply fully with the World Health Organization's regulations on marketing infant formula, that will not end baby deaths in the Third World caused by the use of such breast-milk substitutes. Mothers still face the problems of unsafe water supplies, lack of understanding about sterilizing bottles and the real temptation to water-down a product that is so very expensive to buy. The Nestlé boycott was just the tip of the iceberg. Real work still has to be done to improve the basic health needs of these babies and the rest of their families. —JAMES W.C. BLACK, *Waterloo, Ont.*

Respect for the law that protects

Because of long experience covering courts as a newspaper reporter in Canada and the United States, I found the article on a rape victim's refusal to testify (The cost of getting tough, Law, Jan. 16) thought-provoking. I cannot suggest a solution. I can only observe that in too many instances I have seen women refuse to testify against men who abused them, only to go right back into the same situation and be abused again—and then call the police again. Both incidents are frustrating for police and judges. Who can blame those responsible for enforcing law and administering justice if they become cynical? If we

women expect to be protected by law, we must learn to report and co-operate with the law. Until we do, we invite abuse. —JEAN M. HODG, *Shaw Lake, Alta.*

Loopholes in free enterprise

Hawkenbury is a disgrace and should be closed as an embarrassment by Bill Davis's Conservatives (The *Manitoba* tabaker, Canada, Jan. 25). How can it be that the ministry of health, which funds all Ontario hospitals, has to go south of the border to find expertise in hospital management? The Conservatives, who tell us that free enterprise will solve all problems of government, would no doubt encourage the Americans to get into our lucrative, federally funded hospital system and show us dumb Canadians how to do the job. It is true they were told that public money is hard to come by and that the ministry of health should do the job it was set up to do. —PETER A. RALE, *Regina, Ont.*

The silent Jewish majority

Your interview with Costa-Gavras (*Documenting repression, torture and persecution*, Q&A, Jan. 25) was timely and incisive. It is alarming to think that a "conspiracy of silence from a Jewish lobby" might impose a censorship that effectively denies the North American public the right to see a work of skill and penetrating sensitivity. Hence K does not only with the human tragedy of the Palestinian people, but touches upon an issue of world concern that has the seeds of another Armageddon. And the article guarantees another human tragedy when it speaks of "the oppressed becoming the oppressor." —DR. EMMAL SAYED, *Halifax*

When the Israelis resumed their people from Entebbe the world rejoiced, and within months we were subject to at least three different versions of their successful rescue. Now a film-maker attempts to ruin a film showing the *by-judice* that is being done to the Palestinians in Israel (Q&A, Jan. 25). Why is this film being blocked and by whom? Is the Jewish state of Israel afraid to allow the rest of the world to see how it treats the Palestinians? I would encourage this film to be shown and allow the public to see it. I also congratulate Costa-Gavras for his courage in making *Heaven K*. —MARYAN CAMPBELL, *Halifax*

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply names, address and telephone number. All correspondence to: Letters to the Editor, Maclean's magazine, National Canadian Inc., 777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7.

High taste resolution

VANTAGE

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The case for intelligent drug use

As the man who popularized LSD during the 1960s, Timothy Leary inspired a whole generation with his infamous outcries, "turn on, tune in, drop out." Popularly known as the "high priest of LSD," Leary's experiments with mind-altering drugs, family led Harvard University to dismiss him from his position of professor of psychology in 1962.

First convicted of drug possession offenses in 1960, Leary spent a total of 14 months in U.S. jails. He escaped from the Men's Colony in the San Luis Obispo, Calif., and in 1970 and fled to Algeria, then to Europe. Leary, now 55, chronicled his adventures in Flashbacks, his penname; numerous published had fled. Madman's correspondence. Madman 2, 85 Blue talked with Leary in his Hollywood Hills home in Los Angeles, where he lives with his 35-year-old wife, Barbara, and his 30-year-old stepson, Zachary.

Madman's Why did LSD become so popular? Was it because of the times, or did the drug act as a catalyst to speed the process of cultural change and its own acceptance?

Leary: The demographic situation was that you had 70 million baby boomers in the United States who happened to be the first members of the information society.

And you had Marshall McLuhan, television and the beginning of computers. The use of drugs, which are brain-altering instruments, entirely synchronized with home television, home stereo, home computers, home yokes and home medicine. McLuhan foresaw this in his information-intelligence-knowledge society naturally the drugs that alter states of consciousness are going to be an integral part of it. The drug did not cause the cultural change but they were an inseparable byproduct of it. And it is no accident that I am now inundated by requests from computer companies to act as a consultant. The younger generation indeed is computer-conscious; the positive aspects of

the consciousness movement of the 1960s and they are sympathetic. **Madman's** How do you explain the decline in the use of LSD? Is it not a dead drug?

Leary: Actually, police seizures of LSD have gone up 1,000 per cent in Los Angeles County in the past year. But there was a downward trend, and I applauded

drug development of new drugs—STP, for example—that have tremendous doses in intelligence-intensified circles. STP is a form of mta, the love drug. It is neither legal nor illegal—nor is the same category as LSD before it was outlawed. In New York they call STP Miss.

Madman's How does STP affect you?

Leary: It does not have the quick reality changes, the hallucinatory blurs of LSD. These drugs give you a very clear, quiet, deeply affectionate experience. There are varieties of the drug called Eve, Venus, Adam, all minor variations on the molecule code. For instance, Venus is the love drug; it has more genital-stimulation properties.

Madman's Does the renaissance of psychedelic drugs signal an eventual return to a time when people will become more inner-directed? Are we going to reach?

Leary: Not cyclic, predictable stages. It is predictable that the first wave of baby boomers is now getting positions of responsibility in laboratories and research centers. It is inevitable that they would bring back research on improved psychoactive drugs. It is absolutely certain and barbaric to be leaving ourselves to alcohol, marijuana and cocaine.

We are going to have extremely new families of drugs, which will have the best aspects of the earlier generation but with improvements in safety and precision.

Madman's With all the negative publicity on the use of drugs, how do you change your position on the use of any of them?

Leary: I am cautiously experimenting. For example, I use all caffeine and now I use it selectively. The same with other drugs. I am much more selective and precise and intelligent in the timing of how, why and when I use a drug. I am 100 per cent in favor of the intelligent use of drugs and 1,000 per cent against the thoughtless use of them, whether caffeine or LSD. And drugs

are not central to my life. **Madman's** Did your work as a psychologist have any lasting impacts on the field?

Leary: During the 1950s there was a group of orthodox psychologists who were the founders of what could be called the Third Person or New Psychoanalysis—Bella Map, Abraham Maslow and others. I consider myself among that number. We brought about a very quiet, general revolution in psychology, which led to the consciousness movement in the 1960s, which led to the personal growth movement. However, institutional, trade union psychology, which is the masters and PhD people in our universities, has not really changed that much.

Madman's After you emerged from jail in 1970 you were incarcerated. In Flashbacks, you describe your situation as being "in jail with no home, no job, no credit and little credibility." Now you are trading on the reputation you developed in the 1960s. How is it going?

Leary: I find that to keep alive and fresh and changing is an invariable challenge, a rejuvenation technique and a continual stimulation. I simply cannot relax. I do not want to. It is a wonderful life position to be in. I have to be out there on the front of the wave. I have no choice.

Madman's Did prison make you regret what you had done?

Leary: I regretted my stupidity. **Madman's** You are now working with the baby boom generation on projects that will affect the future. What happens when the next generation, the so-called generation as you term it, takes over?

Leary: That is the most exciting and optimistic development in human history. Kids now are more sophisticated than the baby boom generation or older generation. They are changeable, so they are real time. Ronald Reagan is unable to change. He is frozen, which leads him to be unrealistic. My 10-year-old has an incredible range of options, just in cable television or in videogames. A generation brought up with such options will not act selectively. It is unselective, for example, to remember the Cold War. There are dozens of options beyond going in to the Soviets, which Reagan thinks is the only other option, or crowding against them.

Madman's What do you think your impact will be?

Leary: I would want being put in one line on stage. For my epitaph, I would like to have a computer scroll of epitaphs that would feature the annals of the week, which could be any of the following: ex-husband professor, ex-convict, ex-civil head, former dice jockey, former computer game enthusiast. ♡

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The McClellan Canal winds its way through North Dakota's countryside, and the flooding of basements in local homes

FOLLOW-UP

A Canada-U.S. water dispute

By Andrew Nikiforuk

It has been the subject of lawsuits, financial scandals and heated Washington-Ottawa disputes. Ever since Congress approved the Garrison Diversion project in 1965—a \$1.2-billion scheme that would divert water from the Missouri River through a massive network of canals and dunes to 200,000 acres of arid North Dakota farmland near Manitoba's border—it has been a subject of intense debate. Canadians have protested against the project, fearing that the diverted water would introduce unwanted species of fish, parasites and chemicals into Manitoba's waterways.

The Canadian anti-Garrison activists won a near victory in Washington in December, 1986, when the House of Representatives voted against approving more funds for the project. But that decision was later overturned. And the Canadians' protest campaign suffered another setback last month when the Reagan administration announced plans for a major construction push on the project next year. President Reagan's proposed 1988 budget allocated \$63.6 million for the Garrison, more than double the allotment for this year.

The U.S. interior department has di-

vided Garrison's development into two phases. And Canadians are primarily concerned with the first stage, although Garrison's proponents claim that it would irrigate only 60,000 acres of North Dakota farmland and would not affect Canada in any way. The planners have also assured Canadian authorities that Phase Two would not be completed without consultation with Canada. But the Canadian opponents of Garrison claim that Phase One will lay the groundwork for the whole project, making it almost impossible to stop. They add that Phase One is not economically feasible by itself. The major component of Phase One, the Lemovite Reservoir, located about 200 km west of Grand Forks, N.D., is Garrison's main regulating dam. The reservoir, on which construction began last August, will create a basin of water from the Missouri, which flows south to the Gulf of Mexico, in the Hudson Bay basin, which flows north through Manitoba. A completed Garrison would link the basins through the northward-flowing Red River.

Anti-Garrison activists and politicians get only few sightings and runoff into Canadian waters from the Missouri but they suspect that Garrison's advocates want to invest enough money in Phase One to force the completion of the whole project. Said Manitoba's nat-

ural resources minister, Alvin Markling: "The parties are dividing—inlet as into withdrawing our opposition and to confuse people about what they are doing."

Canadians and U.S. officials met last November in Ottawa and both sides agreed to set up a technical committee to monitor the features of Phase One that worry Canadians. To that end, scientists and technicians are now updating data on unwanted fish in the Missouri and Hudson Bay basins. The Americans are also studying the feasibility of installing a fish screen as a canal connecting the Lemovite Reservoir with the Missouri River. Despite those U.S. concessions, the Canadians remain concerned. Robert Clarkin, the coordinator of the Manitoba government's information office on Garrison, declared that Phase One increases the risk of accidental spills or transfers of fish to Canadian waters.

For their part, the proponents of Garrison contend that the Canadians' fears are overrated. Homer Engstrom, for one, the manager of the Garrison Diversion Conservancy District in Carrington, N.D., welcomed the formation of the monitoring group, contending that it would remove the debate from the "political arena" and would let technicians "answer the questions." Accord-

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ing to Engelhorn, the United States has spent "millions" to ensure that Manitoba waters are protected. Engelhorn is confident that research on a 1,000-acre site will yield data to satisfy all of Canada's long-range concerns, but he has hired a Winnipeg public relations firm, W. Chaslett and Associates, to improve the project's image. Said Engelhorn: "We have been made a boogeyman."

Opposition to Garrison has spread beyond Canada. Editorials in such leading U.S. newspapers as *The Wall Street Journal* and *The Washington Post* have recently criticized the project, and many North Dakotans question its usefulness. North Dakota farmer Darwin Fisher, for one, who sits on Garrison's 35-member elected board of directors, contends that the project, in order to irrigate 250,000 acres of farmland, will flood 200,000 acres of wetlands and grasslands. Fisher says that one completed portion, the McManis Canal in Central North Dakota, is already leaking so much that it is flooding basements in local houses. Said Fisher: "It is a boondoggle. The second-highest thing on the Garrison board's budget is legal fees." Gary Pearson, spokesman for North Dakota's chapter of the Wildlife Society, said that Phase One also threatens to destroy 50 per cent of the state's wildlife refuges. Said Pearson: "Biology was not the guiding factor. Politics was."

Last November Garrison opponents won a judicial victory when U.S. district court Judge Donald Porter of Pierre, N.D., agreed to reconsider his earlier ruling that rejected their request for an injunction to stop the project. The group of South Dakota farmers that sought the original injunction is now seeking a restraining order. They argue that the project has deviated so much from its original 1960 plan that it is proceeding illegally without reauthorization from Congress. If Porter does decide to halt a hearing after re-examining the evidence, Canadian activists hope to present a written or verbal brief. Said Edward Aronson, spokesman for the Manitoba Committee Against Garrison: "Political and diplomatic suits seem to go unhindered—you have to take a strong stand."

At the same time Gerald McKinney, the Manitoba chairman of the United Canadian-U.S. Anti-Garrison Lobby, will lead a large delegation of farmers, fishermen and trade unionists to Washington to lobby Congress, which has not yet approved Reagan's budget. Said McKinney: "Grassroots pressure could be pivotal. It could bring the thing around." Whatever the outcome of the lawsuit in Washington, the Garrison will almost certainly continue to pump more controversy than water in the next several years. ☐

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COLUMBIA

Video sex and violence

By Charles Gordon

The band is playing on the front porch as a woman walks through a field, past the horses and the dark-outlined people. She is carrying flowers and smiling, until she sees another woman playing at her. The woman with the flowers gasps. She now sees herself arriving somewhere in a red sports car. She sees the playing woman, now swirling and looking of her skirt, in front of a man. *Horses gallop through the field. The band, now dressed in white tie and tails, is playing in a large room. A woman is playing in the singer's non-guitar-playing arm. The other woman—or is it the first woman?—dances in wearing a red dress. She raises a gun and shoots. The horses run through fire. The red sports car drives through fire, the girl in the shiny red dress at the wheel. A guitar can be plucked through the flames. Horses run by the drums...*

Don't be alarmed. It's just rock video—specifically, a rock video by a group called 28 Special. The band sings songs, and the pictures tell a story, a little drama the kids can dance to. And they do. At the high school dance, rock videos play on TV sets, and the kids dance near the set so they can watch.

No, that's not the way you did it. But what is? The way you did it isn't the way your parents did it either. You had this need to be outrageous, right? You heard the way Elvis's little sister drove your dad up the wall. But now what? Kids are addicted with parents who still have their old rock 'n' roll records. Parents even like some of the modern groups, such as the Run-DMC who, parents claim, were singing 30 years ago. Being outrageous is a lot harder.

But the videos are doing a pretty good job of it. *Grown-ups* are starting to see an Alarming Trend: violence and sex in rock videos. Some of them are already talking about putting the censor boards on the case. Here's a new lot: the 1984 ditty called All Right Now. Listen, by Kiss.

Free are burning in parable cases. Through the smoke we see two people, one crumpling in front of the other. The standing one knows the crumpling one is the juke. There is a large jumpy. A man cooks a hawk of meat in one of the five old grates on it. A man is thrown out of a building. The group walks in, so he not up a dog's throat into the wall. A woman is holding a knife. The group plays, while another woman sits on a pole. The women adore the band. Two of

them have a second fight. A football appears. The singer takes a sword and swings it around. The members of the group walk out of the building and into the smoke and fog. One picks up a hawk of meat...

You can see the lengths a poor little rock 'n' roll group has to go to to be outrageous these days. Gene Simmons, bassist for Kiss, recently gave an interview in which he described how tough it really is.

"We started wearing leather," he said, "because we saw gay bikers downtown in the leather and studs and dog collars. It knocked us for a loop—what a great way to look! The problem was there was no place to buy this stuff. There was a guy thing in an S&W fashion boutique. You had to get the real thing, go to a pet shop to get the dog collars."

You see? Depending on your generation, you could grow a dachshund or a

'Grown-ups, alarmed at the violence and sex in rock video, are talking about putting the censor boards on the case'

Restless cat and away you went. These poor guys, they had to walk the streets of the city—a city without even an S&W fashion boutique—and find a pet shop where they could buy a dog collar. Perhaps they looked at the floor and told the shopkeeper, "It's not for me."

Still, what they produce is powerful stuff, usually. The advertising industry has caught on and is making commercials that look like videos. Soon we may see McDonald's wreathed in smoke and getting glorio, and Reagan with something slinging to his arm.

The words, you will be glad to know, are as dumb as they ever were. These are still only two rock 'n' roll lyrics. My body won't let me touch her lip is one. My daddy won't let me have the car is the other. As they have done for 30 years, all rock 'n' roll songs fit into one category or the other.

Rock 'n' roll is still war against grown-ups. In the rock movies of the 1950s the big scene was always in the schoolyard auditorium where Bobby and Billy, who had fought for six weeks an hour and 10 minutes for the right to play Our Music, finally get to play it.

right out in the open. And damned if that isn't Mrs. Grundy in the front row, and look—her toes are tapping, and the principal is snapping his fingers, and the mayor is smiling and swaying back and forth. This is it.

Video World is a lot less innocent. Many videos are full of symbols that Freud would recognize but most kids won't, which is just as well. And there is no denying that some videos are heavy on leering, lewd images, rather than chaos, sex play with guitars and double-licked, vacuum-eyed kinds of female flesh clanking at the nearest member of the band.

There's nothing accidental about it. "Ultimately," says Gene Simmons of Kiss, "I think sex is a real cash sort of thing." Women have not exactly been treated supportively in Kiss videos. Simmons defends that by saying, "I mean, I think everyone is liberal-minded enough that we wouldn't treat a girl like a sexual object."

Not all videos treat girls like dirt. Some videos are genuinely romantic in a gooey sort of way, full of soft milk and glowing candles. Other videos are adventure stories. Rick James and Sade's *By Your Side* are their place on a desert island. Michael Jackson's *Thriller* makes two gangs to dance instead of fight in many rock videos love, dancing and rock 'n' roll save the day. There is even, in Leonard Rictor's *All Night Long*, an exact parallel to the cheerful rock 'n' roll song of the 1950s.

Kids are dancing it up in what looks like an empty office building. A policeman walks in. The dancers look at him but continue dancing. The policeman, still dancing, his nightstick, begins doing too. The end.

But the notion that sex is a real male sort of thing clings to Video World. Perceptive women in the business recognize it. "The musical video concept is not a real sex," Christine Ebersole, lead singer for The Pretenders, said in *Yes, Friday Night Videos*. "We should just be on the stage playing and in the studio. The rest of it is enormous clucking."

What will take the next rough edges off the videos of the future is not your best center barrel but just the old-fashioned outbreak of feminism. As Gloria Li. When the young women decide they don't like the way they look on the small screen, all hell will really break loose—and not a moment too soon.

Charles Gordon is a columnist for the Ottawa Citizen.

Trudeau prolongs the game

Conflicting rumors that Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau would soon quit—or stay on to fight the next election—dominated Parliament Hill last week, diverting attention from continued Opposition charges of patronage scandals and incompetence on the government benches. But Trudeau offered only enigmatic hints about his emotional departure when he emerged from a weekly cabinet meeting of Liberal MPs and senators. "You have the month right, you have the year wrong

draw attention from his two beleaguered ministers.

Opposition members have been calling for a list of SEP projects for two weeks, and last week Roberts indicated the information on 3,750 projects among the records of six other federal job creation programs approved during the past two years. Then he presented the mass of new data to the Commons in four long hours followed with red ribbons. But Opposition members took only one day to plow through bundles of

challenged Conservative James McGrath charged that 76.8 per cent of the money went to Liberal ridings, 50.9 per cent to Tory ridings and 6.1 per cent to NRC constituencies. The Conservatives failed to trace only 6.7 per cent of the money because of lack of data. The Tory breakdown of project spending by different government departments was equally revealing: Liberal ridings got 46.5 per cent of the fisheries projects, 97.8 per cent of the health projects and 100 per cent of the energy and environment projects. As well, Liberal ridings received 85.2 per cent of the transport schemes, 91.1 per cent of the public works programs and 85.7 per cent of the past cities projects.

Manitoba's reported last month that in 1983 the Liberals asked all government MPs to suggest job projects for their ridings—and gave each one an informal ceiling of \$600,000. Opposition seats did not get a similar opportunity. In fact, Roberts did not release the criteria for the SEP fund until Feb. 1—even though the program began in June, 1982. And Ontario Tory MP Bud Bradley insisted that the employment department told him last December that the program "had not yet been initiated, but when it was we would receive the information," Bradley then demanded, "How can [I] apply for a program that has no criteria, no application forms and, in his own office, does not exist?"

In reply, Roberts recalled that the government had mentioned the controversial SEP program in two budgets and suggested that Opposition MPs had not worked hard enough to get available funds. But he acknowledged that his department had never published the program. "If we had, we would have raised expectations and been flooded with applications we could not deal with," he declared.

Despite the exchanges in the House, the spotlight was never far from Trudeau—and he clearly revelled in the attention. He told Liberal caucus members that he will inform them soon of his plans, then added that he will do so when everyone has accepted it. With an unpredictable leader and more questions about job creation and taxes awaiting their return, this week's story break will likely seem too brief for the troubled Liberals.

—MARY JANDHAN
in Ottawa



The Prime Minister changes of scandal swirl around the government

Came around next year," Trudeau told a crowd of 60 waiting reporters. With the rumors still momentarily, attention swung back to two favorite opposition targets: Revenue Minister Pierre Bouchon and Employment Minister John Roberts. At the same time, both Conservatives and New Democrats also charged that Roberts had administered the \$300-million Special Employment Initiative Program (SEIP) largely as a source of patronage for Liberal MPs. As Parliament adjourned for a one-week winter break, some government members suggested facetiously that Trudeau would have to resign soon—if only to

ouster private wealth. 80 lb. The Tory conclusion: roughly \$128 million of the \$300 million already spent went to projects in Liberal ridings.

The Conservatives and New Democrats grudgingly accept the inevitability of some patronage in appointments and spending. But both parties contend that the Liberals have now unacceptably used an entire government program for partisan ends. That shared conclusion drew the two parties together in a rare, unified attack on the government.

Armed with statistics, MPs rose to hurl accusations which Roberts never

Maclean's



Pawley, Robert (below) in uncertain conclusion to his divisive saga

A respite for Manitoba

Conservative Leader Brian Mulroney was in Toronto, preparing for a week in the Florida sun, and the New Democrat Edward Broadbent was visiting Saskatchewan. But within a period of 14 hours last week, both men were in Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's Ottawa office for consultations on Manitoba's protracted and bitter dispute over French language rights. Faced by the prospect that the province's embattled NDP government was ready to abandon its attempts to redress some of the historic grievances of Manitoba's francophones, the three federal leaders agreed to a joint resolution. Unanimously adopted by the House of Commons the next day, the resolution called on the Manitoba government to "pursue its efforts to fulfil the constitutional obligations of the province."

But the raging dispute seemed destined to have little effect on the course of events in Manitoba. After struggling for almost a year to solve the province's language impasse, it appeared likely that Premier Howard Pawley's government would leave it to the courts to decide the issue.

That uncertain conclusion in Manitoba's long-running language saga emerged after the Opposition Conservatives ac-

ceeded in creating a six-week deadlock in the legislature. Since Jan. 16 the Tories had either filibustered or walked out every time a vote was called on measures aimed at declaring the province bilingual and guaranteeing limited government services to the province's francophones in their own language. Beyond the provincial house, the proposed legislation had sparked angry public protests against bilingualism and threats to Pawley and other cabinet ministers. Finally, last Wednesday night House Leader Andy Ametst told reporters that he had no choice but to end the longest session of the legislature in Manitoba's history.

The government, Ametst declared, would promulge the legislation and let its language proposals lie on the order paper. As the House of Commons in Ottawa gave quick approval to the all-party declaration on the issue—what was a similar federal declaration last October—the Pawley government offered the provincial Tories one more chance to give ground. But Conservative Leader Gary Filmon rejected the federal resolution as a "direct and unwarranted interference in a matter of totally provincial jurisdiction." Given that, Pawley's government

was expected early this week to make good its threat to end the legislative session—and with it the divisive language proposals. Rather, Ottawa's attempt to save the Manitoba language measures was not in motion after members of the province's Société Franco-Manitobaine (SFM)—alarmed at the prospect of Pawley's government giving up the fight—flew to Ottawa seeking a gesture of support. Société President Joe Robert and Vice-President Bami Scatena met with Trudeau in Ottawa and then flew to Toronto to meet Mulroney.

Mulroney is personally committed to bilingualism, but the language issue threatened to open fissures within his party. While Manitoba Conservatives opposed increasing the use of French in their province, some (select) Tories privately object to their leader's stance.

In the 48-minute Commons debate on the resolution, Mulroney spoke eloquently. He said he recognized that francophone rights are a marginal issue in the daily lives of many Manitobans—a province where only five per cent of the population speaks French—but he insisted that the real question was one of tolerance. "These courageous few who have kept the French language and culture alive in Manitoba should be the catalyst, not the barometer, of their fellow citizens," he declared. Speaking for the government, Transport Minister Lloyd Axworthy, who is not for the Manitoba ruling of Winnipeg-Port Garry, told the Commons: "I am disappointed about what we see in our home territory," and he called on Parliament to "not forward our voice of reason and reasonableness" on the issue.

If the Manitoba government is forced to abandon its legislative efforts, the next move could be up to Roger Blais, the Winnipeg lawyer who unwittingly created the language issues three years ago by challenging the constitutionality of a speaking list that was written only in English. It is unclear whether his original court challenge will now press ahead.

If Blais decides not to proceed, the SFM itself could launch a constitutional challenge, probably taking on the 1981 Bill 3, a 1980 law passed by the Conservative government of former premier Sterling Lyon that eliminated the seat for provincial laws to be enacted in both French and English. In the meantime, as little parties to the language dispute considered their options, there was little jubilation, only a sense of relief among many Manitobans that, for the time being at least, there might be a respite from the prolonged and painful debate.

—CRAIG GIBBS in Ottawa
and ANDREW WATKINS in Winnipeg





A B-52 in flight; cruise missiles over Alberta and protests across Canada

Countdown for the cruise

Sometime in March a B-52 bomber will take off from a U.S. Air Force base and set its course for the Northwest Territories. It will have a slender, unarmed cruise missile locked under its huge wing. The U.S. defense department calls the first, and only, cruise test in Canada that it will conduct this year a "captive-carry flight." That means that the B-52 missile will not fly under its own power. Instead, it will remain firmly strapped to the bomber during the flight over a 1,500-mile test range stretching along the Mackenzie Valley toward a Canadian Forces base at Cold Lake, Alta., near the Saskatchewan border. Future flights will end with the missile dropping from the plane and landing in the snow under a parachute, but on the inaugural pass the jet bomber and its controversial cargo will return directly to base.

Even with as many as six tests each winter until 1988, the cruise tests seem hardly more dangerous than many other testing and training flights that the United States and other allies have staged over Canada. To that end, the defense department released an environmental report last week in which it concluded that the danger of missile releases or property damage from a cruise crash along the thinly populated test route was negligible.

But the air-launched missile has generated intense opposition because it is a new weapon designed to carry a nuclear warhead at low altitude to a target 3,000 km away. Indeed, many critics say that testing the cruise in Canada contradicts Prime Minister Trudeau's own arms control initiative. New Democratic Leader Ed Broadbent, for one, told the

Congress recently that Trudeau cannot question the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's nuclear strategy and at the same time help to develop a new missile "that is part and parcel of that same extended strategy." The government, on the other hand, has argued that permitting the tests is a necessary contribution to the U.S. nuclear deterrent force.

The transport department's Notice to Airmen, warning them of the B-52's flight six hours before it takes place, will also be a signal to many disarmament groups across the country who have scheduled demonstrations for the first Saturday after the announcement of the test. The groups are also planning a second day of protest marches on April 30. On March 3 eight

groups planned to halt "Lines of resistance" along the 361-km-wide cruise test safety corridor in towns between Fort St. James, B.C., and the Cold Lake base. Then, a "peace petition caravan" consisting of two buses, one travelling from British Columbia and the other coming from Newfoundland, will gather signatures for delivery in Ottawa. They hope to arrive in the midst of a federal election campaign expected later this year.

On Parliament Hill itself, three hardy protesters have camped out with only sleeping bags and a plastic tent for shelter for almost a year. They raged, ungrudging "peace camp" has drawn both admiration and antagonism from MPs and tourists alike. Said singer Stephen Covey, 30, from Montreal: "If Canada refuses to test the cruise, then the camp will stop. But if they do test, the fight still has not been won [and the camp will stay]."

Not far from the peace camp last week, seven Supreme Court of Canada judges contemplated a ruling on last July's cabinet decision to permit the cruise flights. In a final effort to halt the tests, a coalition of 36 peace groups and labor unions appeared before the court in mid-February asking it to overturn a lower court decision and send the issue to trial in the Federal Court of Canada. For its part, the government argued that the courts have no authority to review cabinet decisions affecting national defence or international relations. After a hearing lasting almost two days, the judges reserved their decision without indicating when they would deliver a ruling. Such a ruling could set an important precedent, establishing new limits on cabinet powers—and determining whether judges have jurisdiction over missile flights. —REPORTER JOE JAY

The peace camp on Parliament Hill waiting for a decision on cabinet powers



Budgeting for austerity

When British Columbia's finance minister, Hugh Curtis, brought down a new provincial budget last week, his themes were grimly familiar. To continue the campaign of government spending restraint, taxes will rise, more social services will be cut, and another 4,400 civil service jobs will be eliminated. Then Curtis projected a budget deficit of about \$700 million, drastically less than the \$1.3-billion shortfall predicted in last July's budget. But the finance minister's fiscal plan offered little comfort to the more than 300,000 British Columbians who are jobless—in fact, in Curtis's 90-minute, 10,000-word speech the word "unemployment" was not mentioned once. Above all, the budget signalled that the Social Credit government of Premier William Bennett—66-

up 55.2 per cent of the labor force, was cut by 35 per cent. For the province's jobless, said Richard McElroy, chief economist of the B.C. Central Credit Union, "It was a no-hope budget."

One aspect of Curtis's budget that will likely be examined closely by other provinces is a measure that he used to skirt the current federal-provincial deadlock over medicare policy. The budget imposed an eight-per-cent health care maintenance tax on British Columbians which will raise \$97 million this year to offset the shortfall in the province's \$5.54-billion health bill. Curtis blamed the tax on Ottawa, which he claimed has reneged on its traditional agreement to share medicare costs equally and now is picking up only 43 per cent of British Columbia's health care expenses. The new tax will also

go. The minister announced that the government plans to shelve programs that involve caring for homeless or abused children, children with behavioral problems and other similar programs. Recently, large advertisements have appeared in the classified section of Vancouver newspapers, asking for tenders on 32 programs for children that the government plans to close down by March 31. The government also intends to hand over regulation of the insurance, travel and real estate industries and of the Vancouver Stock Exchange to the private sector.

Curtis did come up with \$470 million in new funding to help reduce the \$670-million debt of the B.C. Railway, a Crown corporation that has been involved in the development of the province's big northwest coal project. That project now is in difficulty because of low world coal prices. David Sugich, finance critic for the opposition New Democrats, charged that the govern-



B.C. Parliament microchaos: Curtis' axed cuts in social services, a charge that the government has financial losses by billions



split last year's labor current and a series of unprecedented public protests—plans to stay the course of restraint on which it embarked seven months ago.

Curtis reduced spending for social services, municipalities, education and the management of British Columbia's forests. At the same time, a continuing squeeze on the civil service will eliminate by attrition roughly 4,400 jobs in addition to the 4,300 cut last year. The finance minister also shrank support systems for the poor—funding for the province's legal aid and pharmaceutical programs will be reduced—and for the unemployed. Welfare payments for single people and for young, childrenless parents will be reduced to \$264 from \$375 a month. In addition, funding for job creation and retraining programs for the province's unemployed, who make

provide British Columbia with a cushion against federal financial penalties. Under Ottawa's proposed Canada health act, the federal government would reduce federal medicare funding to provinces that allow extra-billing by doctors or that have hospital user fees, as British Columbia does. Asked about Curtis's medicare plan, federal Health Minister Monique Bégin declared: "The whole thing is a joke. It's pure politics." But Alberta's health minister, David Russell, commented, "It's a move, in essence, many provinces are joining in."

Curtis, who described his program as a "breakthrough budget—the closest evidence to date that the government's restraint program is a success," said Victoria will continue with the threat to "privatize" government programs that began with the last bud-

get. "Clearly we have financial losses to hide. The \$470 million is just the beginning."

The budget aroused the fury of labor leaders, but it seemed unlikely to provoke the massive public protests that erupted after Curtis's last budget set the Bennett government on its austere new course. Art Kuba, president of the B.C. Federation of Labor and a leader of Operation Solidarity—the coalition of labor and community groups that took the province to the brink of a general strike in October—denounced the budget as "insidious" and "economic suicide." But he admitted that no demonstrations were planned, perhaps indicating that because of the conservative mood of the day even political protests have entered into a period of restraint. —JANE OTTAWA in Vancouver



Gas vapor escaping from the abandoned Vinland: a blowout, then a rescue

A victory over the cruel sea

The Vinland, a towering gas-drilling rig, was anchored 12 nautical miles off the northern tip of Sable Island in the Atlantic Ocean last week when highly explosive gas suddenly began leaking from its drilling pipe, creating the instant threat of another maritime tragedy. A single spark would have ignited the gas, turning the rig with 76 workers aboard, into a giant torch. But the evacuation and eventual rescue of the Shell Canada Resources Ltd. employees from two covered lifeboats ended with a single fatality: a crew member who suffered a heart attack. By week's end, as two well-equipped specialists from Houston waited for clear weather to begin the delicate job of plugging the blowout, there did not appear to be any serious risk of major pollution to either Sable Island or mainland Nova Scotia, about 179 nautical miles to the west.

Shell was using the Vinland, painted bright orange and rising 335 feet from its keel to the top of its derrick, to estimate the size of a producing gas reserve when the accident occurred. The blowout shook the rig "like a tremendous explosion," one crewmate said. It also revived memories of the last oil rig disaster in Canada's marine drilling industry, the sinking of the Ocean Ranger off the coast of Newfoundland in a severe winter storm in February 1982, with the loss of all 94 crew members. And it focused attention on the regulations, safety equipment and rescue procedures designed to protect workers.

At 10:32 p.m., two minutes after the explosion occurred, the Vinland radioed the Halifax Search and Rescue Centre with the emergency message that 72

men and three women were abandoning the rig and boarding the lifeboats. They changed first into waterproof survival suits. Then they started quickly into two hulks, self-salvaging lifeboats. They lowered themselves down the equivalent of seven stories in complete darkness into the 10-foot ocean wells below. "The next nine hours were horrible," a crewmate recalled. (He, like his fellow workers, requested anonymity after Shell Canada ordered its employees not to talk to reporters.)

Rig workers better safety drills



"Everyone was awake and throwing up, and the boat was bobbing and going up and down like an elevator. We were not sure if we would make it out alive."

But their luck held. Two oil company supply ships, which were stationed near the rig in case of emergencies, took the well-lit lifeboats in tow. But rescue organizers decided that trying to airlift the workers to shore in the dark was too dangerous because flames tended to illuminate the area might have ignited the escaping gas. As a result, the rig workers spent an uncomfortable night in the lifeboats while three Search and Rescue helicopters circled overhead. Then, at dawn the supply ships planked the exhausted survivors from the lifeboats, and by noon helicopters had flown them to Halifax airport. There, doctors examined them before sending them home. Their relief was tempered, however, when they learned that Robert Lantz, 30, a contract welder from Fall River, N.S., had died of a heart attack during the rescue. "But we can also think about what happened to the men on the Ocean Ranger," said one crewman, as he walked to his car accompanied by his obviously relieved wife.

Since the loss of the Ranger, lax Canadian attitudes and guidelines have become tougher. They require that all rigs carry survival suits. And the Vinland was even safer than the law demanded. Vinland's Norwegian owners, Swere Offshore Resources Drilling, and its operator, Shell Canada Resources Ltd., required that all their offshore employees complete a course in marine emergency training in order to qualify for jobs. As well, the Norwegian officers on board kept the rig's and its emergency equipment well-maintained, and they conducted safety drills with military exactness. "I thought that they were going a bit overboard with the drills and maintenance," said one crew member. "I will never think that again. With the Norwegian grading us, we are in the safest possible hands."

At week's end a storm moved over the abandoned rig, raising fears that lightning might ignite the gas spewing from the Vinland. The high winds also blew escaping gases over the rig's helicopter pad, preventing the two experts from the Texas firm of Scott and Croft Inc. from landing. "We do not want to do anything to create a spark," said Shell Canada spokesman Laurie Taylor, noting that Transport Canada had banned ships and planes from the area. "We are a very sad danger."

The oil rig's name is now linked to a dramatic sea rescue, now Nova Scotia is hoping that the men from Texas will be able to make that the most remarkable event of the Vinland saga.

—MICHAEL CUNNINGHAM in Halifax

Sex scandals in a quiet valley

The Annapolis Valley, west of Halifax, is an area of quiet farming communities, best known for the picturesque apple blossom festivals held there each spring. But darker concerns have gripped the 5,000 residents of Kentville and the nearby villages of New Minas and White Rock recently. They now fear that a sex ring involving young children might have flourished in the area for years. Police have laid approximately 150 sexual assault and incest charges against 12 men and one woman, and last week demonstrators marched through Kentville demanding tougher sentences for sex offenders.

The charges that adults related by blood and marriage allegedly performed sexual acts with 18 children between 6 and 14 years of age angered 50 protesters who were already worried about child abuse. On Feb. 16 a provincial court judge laid a Kentville barber \$500 and added a year's probation for committing an indecent act in front of a nine-year-old girl while he was on probation for another sex offense. "Sex offenders should be taken off the streets for some time," declared Debbie Hazlett, mother of the girl and the sponsor of the protest.

Most of the accused in the current case live in White Rock, a village of 200, five kilometres from Kentville in the rolling hills that surround the valley. The state paid half the \$600 each and returned home, but the women girls and their boys were involved with Kings County child-care authorities until their relatives appear in court in May. The alleged incidents came to light early in January, when one of the girls involved complained to a schoolteacher. The teacher then told child-care authorities who alerted the police detachment in New Minas. The police investigation and charges shocked valley residents and it prompted some of them to argue that there were different community standards between prosperous inland towns and poorer hillside villages. And Michael Ingraham, editor of the Kentville Advertiser, said, "There has probably been going on for generations."

But Hazlett, for one, hopes that the discovery of alleged sexual abuse near Kentville will prompt discussion and eventually lead to changes. She still favors harsher sentences but she acknowledges that longer jail terms are only a temporary solution. "Sex offenders are sick people who need help, but they don't have enough psychology in this area to deal with them," she said.

—BRIAN PITT in Kentville

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Mondale closes the field



Mondale, right (below), an early victory, and cautious approach to the future

By Leszy Glynn

He is still only running for the Democratic presidential nomination. But last week former vice-president Walter Mondale seemed as though he was ready to move into the White House. Mondale's resounding victory in Iowa's Democratic party caucus, in which he won support from 68.8 per cent of Iowa's Democrats, ensured him at least 50 of that state's 58 delegates to this July's Democratic convention. He quickly headed east. His next goal was this week's critical New Hampshire primary. "This is the beginning of the end of the Reagan administration," Mondale told supporters last week. On Tuesday he began a spirited campaign in Manchester, N.H., asking voters for another solid victory that would "send Reagan packing." As for the seven Democratic presidential rivals who distantly trail Mondale, the Minnesota politician declared, "I am not looking over my shoulder."

In Iowa support for Mondale from the 85,000 odd Democrats who attended the caucuses was so overwhelming that the second-place candidate—Colorado Senator Gary Hart—took a mere 16.1 per cent of the total. Mondale's victory was

the widest margin ever achieved in a contested Iowa caucus. Post-mortem analysis showed that he did well among self-declared "liberal" and "conservative" Democrats alike, and only younger Democrats were lukewarm in their backing. For his part, Hart tried to recover this week in New Hampshire by strengthening his appeal to young Democrats.

More startling than Mondale's expected victory, however, was the unexpected free fall of Ohio Senator John

Glen, who finished a humiliating sixth, with a minuscule 3.6 per cent. Glen metamorphosed instantly from Mondale's principal challenger to a long-shot underdog. By contrast, former South Dakota senator George McGovern was encouraged by his 16.2-per-cent, third-place finish. Joining the eight candidates in their trek to New Hampshire, McGovern stated, "Nobody can really see where this is all going to come out." The rest of

the Democrats' would-be presidents headed to the Granite State under a shadow. All had been beaten by the 84-per-cent figure denoting Iowans who voted to send "mainstream" delegates to this year's convention.

Events in March will almost certainly decide the makeup of this year's Democratic ticket. During a flurry of primaries and caucuses across the nation over the next three weeks, Democrats will choose almost half of all the delegates attending the convention in San Francisco. Mondale's organization is strong in all of the nine states to be contested on March 13, which has been dubbed "Super Tuesday." By contrast, Glen's Iowa debacle may have dented the campaign's only comparable political apparatus. "Anybody who is going to challenge Walter Mondale," said the front-runner's campaign chairman, James Johnson, "has to be prepared to run very aggressively in a broad range of places over the next month. Nobody but Glen was in a position to do that—and now I do not think anybody is."

Hart, for one, disagreed. He claimed that the campaign is a "two-person race between myself and Mondale." The body would reflect more than just a jolt of energy from Iowa. The liberal senator's denigration of the race as a contest between the Democratic party's "future and its past" seemed to be gaining him support among dropouts from the Glen campaign. But to hold that support, Hart will have to close the 32-point gap between himself and Mondale. The son of a farm implement dealer from Ottawa, Kan., Hart began his political education while serving as a volunteer in John F. Kennedy's 1960 presidential campaign. He has published some of the most detailed and thoughtful policy papers in the current race. And his organization in New Hampshire was widely acknowledged as one of the best—after Mondale's.

Glen tried to shrug off last week's defeat in Iowa with the argument that he remains the only "true alternative" to Mondale. "If anyone is going to have a chance of going all the way," Glen told *New Hampshire*



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ESPAÑA

The troubled Sandinistas

Morales heads roared the streets, and more than 130,000 Nicaraguans gathered last week in the Plaza de la Revolución to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the assassination of Augusto César Sandino, the early guerrilla hero from whom the ruling left-wing Sandinistas took their name. At the same time, Nicaragua's three-man junta pledged to

meet its pressing problems to solve last year more than 2,400 people died in guerrilla attacks. At the same time, the nation is grappling with an economic crisis: inflation is running at 24 per cent, and foreign debt for outright domestic production is part of the country's economic problems result from trade sanctions imposed by the Reagan administration last year—including a



Nicaraguans cheer election promise, festivities and an air of unease

hold periodic elections on Nov. 4, four months earlier than scheduled. But an air of unease surrounded the festivities. U.S. trade sanctions and continuing attacks from Washington-backed Nicaraguan counter-revolutionaries in Honduras have clouded the Sandinistas' 4½ years of rule. Still, in a show of defiance, junta co-ordinator Daniel Ortega declared, "We do not accept that democracy is ordered by the U.S. government."

Ortega's clearest announcement required rapidist applause from Sandinista supporters. But members of Nicaragua's left opposition parties were clearly unnerved. Their spokesman immediately threatened to boycott the vote unless the junta lifts the state of emergency it declared in 1982. And in Washington Reagan administration officials expressed skepticism that a fair election will indeed take place. Nicaragua rebels, the so-called contras, threatened to disrupt the vote if the Sandinistas refuse to permit them to participate.

The country's revolutionary govern-

ment has promising problems to solve. Last year more than 2,400 people died in guerrilla attacks. At the same time, the nation is grappling with an economic crisis: inflation is running at 24 per cent, and foreign debt for outright domestic production is part of the country's economic problems result from trade sanctions imposed by the Reagan administration last year—including a

30-per-cent cut in imports of Nicaraguan sugar, a vital source of foreign currency. Washington has also cut all economic aid to the Sandinistas while covertly arming and financing the contras. Indeed, acting on recent recommendations by the Kissinger commission on U.S. foreign policy in the region, the Reagan administration has formally requested an increase in aid for the rebels, who received \$94 million from Washington last year.

Still, the Sandinistas seem assured of a solid victory in next November's elections, which are aimed to coincide with the final stages of the U.S. presidential race. Elections raise lowering the voting age from 18 to 16 to include many youthful Sandinista supporters may prove a wartime strategy for the Leftists. But even with a massive victory at the polls, Sandino's democratically elected descendants will likely face continuing hostility from Washington and debilitating attacks from guerrillas.

—JAMES MITCHELL, in Toronto, with Keith Locke in Managua.



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ZIMBABWE

A cruel war of starvation

On a continent already suffering widespread starvation caused by desperate drought conditions, southeastern Zimbabwe offers an even cruder prospect this month: starvation by government edict. The Zimbabwe government is again involved in what has become an annual offensive against dissident terrorists in Masobeleland, the southern area of the country previously occupied by the minority Ndebele tribe. Unfortunately, part of the campaign—a drive that the government claims is essential to prevent a civil war and preserve its hold on power—involves random killings and brutal beatings of rural peasants by members of the army's Fifth Brigade, which was responsible for gruesome atrocities in last year's antidissident initiative.

The government's campaign began suddenly on Feb. 4, when armoured columns poured through the streets of Bulawayo, the capital of Masobeleland. Troops sealed off much of the region and imposed a strict dusk-to-dawn curfew. In the months leading up to the initiative, dissidents had reportedly slaughtered 150 people, causing an exodus of frightened white farmers from the economically important Kaituma farming district near Bulawayo. But late last week on-the-spot investigations in the district adjacent to those cordoned off by soldiers and police turned up numerous firsthand accounts that the government crackdown has been brutal.

Nomas Ngwenya, 18, testified that a soldier beat her on the buttocks until she could not walk and he seized her hand between his boots, annoying her by feeding and sleeping with dissidents whom she claimed she had never met. **D**ouglas Mhlanga, 31, said that along with 400 other villagers he watched soldiers randomly single out the members of the community for execution, one of whom was his brother, Kaya, 18.

Rogey Dube, 96, her broken arm in a sling, said that soldiers attacked her while she was walking out of a sugar cane field and that they beat her for 10 minutes, accusing her of cooking for dissidents, a charge she vehemently denied.

Caplan Ndhlovu, 32, said that soldiers burned him and his neighbor, Bernard Moyo, with molten paraffin plastic, beat them and beatings that even while the soldiers ate all the family's dissidents. Moyo died from his wounds, Ndhlovu survived after 11 days of treatment in the local hospital.

If there were more graphic examples, the victims were not available for inter-

views. The casebook at the Roman Catholic bishop's office in Bulawayo was filled with testimony that included a description of 18 men being beaten, thrown into a well and blown up with a grenade. None survived.

The reaction of Prime Minister Robert Mugabe's government to the reports of cruelty has, in the main, been outraged disbelief. When Opposition Leader Joshua Nkomo told Parliament

that the district hospital in Owanda, just outside the no-military buffer zone in which the army is active, reported that half of its patients have been beaten, nearly all of them allegedly at the hands of the army. But beyond the beating and killing of innocent people, the curfew once again inside the constant threat of dissolution.

Last year thousands of frightened peasants fled from the operations area and took refuge in Bulawayo and neighboring towns. This year the government has ordered everyone to stay in their villages and it has sealed the area with police to enforce its edict. Stories have



Fifth Brigade members: an annual wave of terror and outraged disbelief

of several atrocities against peasants in Masobeleland recently he was admonished by cabinet ministers, both for voicing his complaints in the House and for telling them privately and for undermining the morale of the army. Still, despite the apparent rhetoric of the crackdown, the government does have legitimate concerns.

The dissidents, most of them Ndebele-speaking followers of Nkomo during the war against the white regime of Ian Smith, have also frequently been involved in activities that are just as—or more—vicious as those of the Fifth Brigade, including murder, rape and mutilation. And some of the dissidents are almost certainly receiving South African support as part of that country's now familiar strategy of destabilizing black-ruled African countries. As well, this year's wave of terror seems to be slightly less brutal than last year's campaign, during which soldiers murdered thousands of peasants.

Murder is still a favored terror tactic among some elements of the Fifth Brigade, but beatings are now more fre-

quently ordered closed within the curfew area, as that saves them with money seized by food. And the south-east of the country has been parched by drought, with the result that many villages have already run out of any food other than dried grass and some surplus melons. At week's end the government was scrambling, according to church and aid agencies, to prevent the shipment of emergency food aid into the area.

Zimbabwe itself faces the immediate prospect of a shortage of its staple food—maize. But unless the government relaxes its siege soon, the 400,000 inhabitants of southeastern Masobeleland face starvation. The churches, many of which clashed with the government over the Fifth Brigade's crackdown last year, have been wary of speaking of famine. But last week reporters in Masobeleland learned that on Feb. 13 the leaders of seven major church groups in the area sent a personal letter to Mugabe, pleading with him to let food in. "To the best of our knowledge," said the letter, "starvation is imminent." ◇

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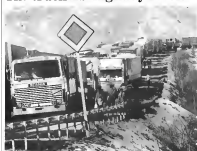
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FRANCE

The truckers' highway revolt



Truck jams in the French Alps: empty grocery shelves and frozen cattle

One commentary described it as the biggest traffic jam since the invention of the wheel. When 16,000 trucks blockaded the main routes of France and most of Western Europe, they created a state of siege on the Continent last week. It was also the most unsettling labor revolt since student riots paralyzed France in May, 1968. Not only was the truckers' blockade the most serious challenge to the government of President Francois Mitterrand since he took office three years ago, but it also underlined the failure of the European Community's free market dreams.

The truckers' protest, which finally ended before the weekend when the French government refused to compromise, focused attention on the transport drivers' anger at time-consuming and expensive delays in customs processing.

The effects were far-reaching. In Paris, many grocery shelves were empty as thousands of trucks blocked access to the city's main freight depot and cut off its rail traffic to Charles de Gaulle Airport. Truckloads of cattle bound for slaughterhouses perished in below-zero temperatures after they became trapped in ice-caps. Tons of fruit and vegetables rotted in vans. Cut off from the delivery of oriental pears, the French susceptible industry, already reeling under heavy financial losses, laid off 80,000 workers. As the blockade spread to neighboring countries, 2,500 transport trailers barreled both sides of the Brenner Pass which links Italy,

Austria and West Germany. As the Dutch government called for an emergency meeting of European transport ministers, it became clear that France's neighbors were angered at the Socialist government's refusal to force the truckers back to work in frustration. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher demanded compensation for the 600 British tractor-trailers trapped in the tie-ups—a sum that could reach \$5.2 million.

The original cause of the blockade was a work-to-rule order by Italy's 4,900 customs officers to protest Rome's refusal to expand their numbers. French truckers, who were already dismayed by their increasing problems at Italian border crossings, used the disruption as an excuse to press their two-year-old demands for lower value-added taxes on diesel fuel and insurance rates, as well as streamlined customs clearance.

The truckers' grievances made clear the European Community's failure to function as a free trading zone. As its customs commissioner, Karl-Helmuth Nuyjen, pointed out, a trucker delivering cargo from Rotterdam to Naples not only has to contend with 26 hours on the road, but another 10 hours waiting in border lines—clearly a contravention of the European Community's spirit. Many observers questioned the need for any customs officers at all in a customs union. Others said that if the truckers prompt a abolition of existing border red tapes, the disruption may prove worth its cost. —MARC McDONALD in Paris.



Smoke rising over battle-torn Beirut for Syria's Assad, a remarkable victory in light of recent Middle East history

COVER

Assad: the new strongman

By Michael Posner

The year was 1974, and the city was Damascus. Henry Kissinger, then U.S. secretary of state, was negotiating a truce disengagement accord with Syrian President Hafez al-Assad after the Yom Kippur War with Israel. With no agreement in sight, Kissinger attempted to ease tensions with a little humor. Assad's negotiating style, he said, recalled the story of the hunter who pursued his quarry so intently that he failed to notice a pronghorn looming ahead. Plunging into the story, the hunter managed to grasp the limb of a tree and, clinging to it desperately, pleaded for divine intervention. A heavenly voice suggested that the hunter demonstrate his faith in God by letting go of the branch. The hunter considered that for a moment and then asked, "Is there anyone else up there?" Assad enjoyed the joke but rejected the comparison. "You don't know me," he told Kissinger. "I'm not like that."

Ten years later the world knows a

good deal more about Hafez al-Assad. Last week, as Lebanon's bloody end war raged on and U.S. marines began their retreat from Beirut, the wily 60-year-old Syrian leader stood triumphant. In a matter of months he has succeeded in eroding the legitimacy of

Syrian President Hafez al-Assad, a cunning politician, is now the most important power in the Middle East

President Amin Gemayel's Lebanese government, destroying its peace accord with Israel, crushing Palestine Liberation Organization fighters loyal to Christian Yassir Arafat and forcing the renegade militias of the Cedar States, Italy and Great Britain to withdraw from Lebanon. In doing so, Assad made himself the unquestioned arbiter of the Lebanese future. Indeed, with his

control over more militant factions of the PLO and his support for Iran in its escalating Persian Gulf war with Iraq (page 38), Assad has assumed a vital role in the region's broader issues as well—the Arab-Israeli conflict, resurgent Islamic fundamentalism and the search for an Arab consensus. Kissinger once called Assad "the most interesting man in the Middle East." Last week he also was the most important.

Assad's political power—backed by an infusion of more than \$2 billion in sophisticated Soviet arms—is not without limit. In the Arab world he remains something of a pariah and, despite concerted effort, he failed last month to block Egypt's return to the 60-nation Islamic Conference. The emerging alliance of Egypt, Jordan and Iraq could pose a serious counterweight to Syria's quest for Arab supremacy. And, barely 50 km from downtown Damascus, the Israeli army stands poised to block any Syrian military advance.

Still, through a mix and muffle that skillfully mixes public diplomacy with unliking territories, Assad has gained



U.S. marines pulling out from their positions in Beirut despite White House assurances, the prospect of return seemed distant

a veto authority over virtually any plan to settle the area's disputes. Last week Saudi Arabian diplomats shuffled between Beirut and Damascus, finally winning Assad's consent to a ceasefire between Gemayel's defection-ridden Lebanese Army and renegade Syrian-backed Druze and 88% Shiite militia. Late Thursday, after a marathon negotiating session with Assad, the combatants declared a truce. It lasted barely 12 hours. By noon Friday there were violent clashes along the Green Line, which separates Muslim West from Christian East Beirut. By week's end the breakdown was nearly total, with firing throughout the city and in the nearby Chouf Mountains. And there was no indication of whether Assad would support Druze demands for Gemayel's resignation, or whether talks aimed at reconciliation in Lebanon would be allowed to resume.

Intolerable: Syria's minimal goal is to end any public absorption of the controversial May 17 peace accord with Israel. Although it called for total withdrawal of Israeli troops in the south, it gave Jerusalem the right of joint patrol inside Lebanon. More galling to Damascus, it laid the foundation for the normalization of trade and diplomatic relations between Lebanon and Israel. Assad has never accepted the Camp David accords, regarding Egypt's late president Anwar Sadat, as a traitor to the Arab cause. Moreover, almost alone among Arab states, Syria has never ac-

cepted UN resolutions 242 and 338—which in essence would trade Israeli-occupied Arab territories for peace. The prospect of Lebanon—Syria's historic satellite—becoming the second Arab nation to embrace Israel is more than Assad can tolerate. But absorption of the May 17 pact is

only the beginning of Syrian claims on Lebanon. Gemayel may or may not be permitted to remain, but either way Assad will insist on reducing the president's power and awarding it to the Druze and Shi'ites. There would have to be a new cabinet and a new prime minister, all of whom would require Syria's approval. At that point, perhaps, Assad might allow Gemayel to retain his title. But clearly Lebanon (population 2.5 million) would be totally subservient to the interests of Syria (population 5.4 million).

With his army crumbling and his national defense leaving, Gemayel is not in a position to bargain. Already, he has all but abandoned the May 17 agreement.

But even absorption will not assure the Lebanese president longevity in office. If the agreement is revoked, then Israel could remain in the south indefinitely. Gemayel's Christian allies also are opposed to absorption. Former president Gemayel's Christian ally, leader of the right-wing Lebanese Front, and Pash Frej,

commander of the Christian Phalange militia, publicly warned Gemayel last week not to repudiate the accord. Said the 63-year-old Chamon: "We will not accept the absorption except under the condition of the withdrawal of Syrian troops from all Lebanon within three months." Christian leaders say that if the pact is discarded, then both the Israeli and the 60,000-man Syrian Army in the Bekaa Valley will remain—leaving Lebanon in a state of effective partition.

Withdrawal: The Syrians have repeatedly stated their intention to pull out of Lebanon, but the terms for their withdrawal keep changing. U.S. negotiators assumed that Assad would

Assad's cool tactics





Lebanese children view departing Italian paratroopers evading Gengaz's position

COVER

honor a Lebanese government request for a Syrian exit. But Damascus never regarded the Gengaz government as legitimate. It would take a restructured administration, with Syrian allies in key positions of power, to make that request. Even then, Assad would only agree to discuss withdrawal after the Israelis had left. One reason is that Israel invaded Lebanon in 1982 and, although the Syrians also originally were invaders, the Lebanese and Arab League later officially welcomed them. New many analysts doubt that the Syrians will ever leave. Says Washington military consultant Aaron Bernstein: "Even if the Israelis pull back unilaterally, Assad won't leave. He will create an excuse to stay. He will say Israeli support for the Christian militia interferes on Lebanese sovereignty."

Last week the Israelis focused their concern on other issues: Israeli warplanes staged three bombing runs in five days on suspected PLO base camps in the Chouf Mountains near Baal-Hannan, 20 km southeast of Beirut. Officially, as Jerusalem explained, that the raids were a result of Israeli fears that Palestinian guerrillas had returned to the south. But the strikes may also have been designed to prop up the Lebanese Army at Souk al-Gharbi, a strategic mountain town overlooking Gengaz's presidential palace outside the capital. For his part, Washington continued to insist that the Maron withdrew from

Beirut was only a redeployment, not an abandonment of the Gengaz government. "We're not bugging out," President Ronald Reagan said at a news conference. "We're just going to a little more defensible position." The Marines' End Amphibious Unit will remain aboard the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean, and, if necessary, Reagan said he would not hesitate to send them back to Lebanon. However, many observers believed that the prospect was remote.

Mockery On Capitol Hill, Secretary of State George Shultz defended the May 13 accord—which he personally helped to draft—as "a good agreement" and added, "Some of the things that Syria is now demanding in Lebanon make a mockery of the Lebanese-Israeli agreement: infringe on Lebanese sovereignty." But Shultz also warned congressmen to put the Lebanese debate behind him. "I would not say we failed," he said. "We did not succeed. But the wheel is still turning, and we will stay engaged." The engagement, however, will be qualified. The Pentagon last week announced a temporary suspension of arms deliveries to the Lebanese Army, apparently fearing that renegade units will immediately turn the equipment over to the rebels.

Ironically, the man who last week seemed able to topple a Christian president of Lebanon originally entered the country to save the Christian forces from slaughter at the hands of the Mos-

lems. That was in 1976, and since then Assad has shifted his loyalties more than once. "You have to remember," a veteran U.S. diplomat observed, "that today's enemy in the Arab world is tomorrow's shoring partner." Indeed, there is an old Arabic saying that seems to fit Assad's approach: "Be useful of your enemy once and of your friend a thousand times. For should your friend come to be true, he would be more able to hurt you."

It was Assad, then one member of the Syrian Air Force, who helped preserve King Hussein's Jordanian throne in 1970 by refusing to commit his warplanes to the Palestinians who were rebelling against the monarch during the

1950s. The Syrian Air Force was nearly destroyed in the 1982 Lebanese invasion, leaving Assad, it was widely assumed, in a mortally weak bargaining position. Western diplomats were appalled that foreign forces would withdraw, giving way to a reconstituted and sovereign Lebanon, allied to the West. Clearly, they underestimated Assad. Although Soviet planes and weapons had proven inferior in combat, Assad went back to Moscow with a long shopping list. The Soviets, seeking to repair their reputation and keep their hand in the region, met most of his requests—including weapons never before sold outside the Warsaw Pact. Among them were six-to-eight batteries, capable of



Ordnance mounted on the Beirut front line is now under the control of the Syrians

bloody Hask September campaign. But that friendship soon dissolved, and now Jordanian diplomats are targets of Syrian-financed terrorist attacks—Assad's warning to Hussein not to enter peace talks with Israel. Damascus supported Arafat for years and, if necessary, sent the air force to his defense in the 1982 Lebanese war, losing 86 planes and enormous ground-to-air missile batteries. But when Arafat began inching toward a deal with Hussein and recognition of Israel, Assad whipped up anti-Arafat factions of the PLO and, in a violent showdown late last year, he expelled Arafat's forces from Lebanon. As a result, the PLO—sole legitimate representative of the Palestinians, according to the Arab League—was effectively divided, with Assad firmly in control of one faction.

Assad's victory in Lebanon is all the more remarkable considering recent

knowledge that Assad was reportedly capable of combining acts of ruthlessness with attacks of kindness. As one Middle East expert observed, "Syria does what is in Syria's interest." As a result, while allowing Iranian tankers to sail to pass through Syrian checkpoints en route to their targets, Damascus also arranged the January release of captured Navy Star liner Robert Goodwin and, before that, of David Dodge, former graduate of the American University in Beirut. That carrot-and-stick approach seemed tailor-made for Assad's objectives. Ammanese came to see the Maron mission as misguided, bitterly opposing its attack, incapable of waging real retaliation and unable to keep the peace. President built steadily in Congress for withdrawal, and Reagan, unwilling to have the Maron become a political factor in the election, finally issued the order for retreat.

In the wake of Washington's policy failure, many commentators contend that Assad should have been involved diplomatically from the start. As it was, the Lebanese-Israeli agreement was negotiated without reference to Syria.

But, in permitting Israeli troops to remain until Syrian forces withdrew simultaneously, it handed Assad an easy veto over the pact and the future of Lebanese-Israeli relations. Other experts argue that Damascus would not let any event have entered talks until the Israeli pulled out. "But," says Robert Hunter, director of Middle Eastern affairs at the National Security Council during the Carter administration, "at least we would have been in no worse shape." At any rate, had there been a dialogue, Washington might have been able to trade Israel's pullback from the Chouf Mountains for a similar Syrian concession.

Warnings: "We underestimated Assad," says Phil Stoddard, executive director of the Middle East Institute. "We didn't read Kissinger's memoirs." Kissinger described Assad as the smartest of all the Arab leaders, a cool, cunning tactician, the most convinced of his objectives and the best able to deliver on his promises. More than anything, perhaps, dealing with Assad requires a heavy commitment of time. It took 100 hours of negotiating just to

Amal gunmen after attack on Lebanese Army positions: a state partition



hitting Israeli planes over Israeli air space, and the highly accurate 30-21 surface-to-surface missile.

Bombings: Along with the arms came advanced electronic warfare systems imported via satellite to Moscow and manned by some 7,000 Soviet advisers who continue to reside in Syria. Damascus directed smaller missions to Druze and Shi'ite militias in Lebanon for Assad's destabilization campaign. When the multinational forces arrived to guarantee Gengaz's hold on power, Syria either planned or facilitated—the final verdict is not in—suicide terroristic bombings that destroyed the U.S. Embassy in Beirut and, later, the Maron compound at the International Airport.

Washington blames Syria for the attacks on the embassy and the Maron compound, regretting sophisticated planning and resources that were unthinkable without, at minimum, Syrian



Traffic-clogged streets in Damascus: modern social services and stable rule

COVER

complete the first phase of the 1974 Golan Heights disengagement agreements. "In Lebanon," says Stouffer, "we took Syria's pledge that it would withdraw when Israel did, but we never explored it. Instead, we got the May 17 agreement and then said 'Now deliver! You can't do that with Assad!'"

Assad himself, still recuperating from a heart attack, has ruled his nation for 14 years—a modern-day Syrian rooster. The son of peasants, Assad is an Alawite, a minority Shi'a sect constituting about 10 per cent of Syria's population and historically excluded from the corridors of Syrian power. Indeed, Assad is said to have been the first Alawite admitted to the Hama Military Academy. He became an officer at 35, joined the Ba'ath Arab Socialist Party and began maneuvering for promotion. He was air force general and minister of defense before securing outright control in a 1970 coup.

An intensely private man, Assad rarely makes public appearances except for national anniversaries, when he delivers long and exhausting speeches. Last year he uncharacteristically indulged in two new habits, one a large presidential palace overlooking Damascus, the other a summer home on the Mediterranean coast at Latakia. Still, observers admit that his people share the nation's wealth. And his comparatively stable rule has brought modern development to a backward desert state. Glass-front apartment buildings line the Assad, shady boulevards of Damascus. Most Syrians have access to electricity, potable water and hospitals. As well, under Assad the nation's annual per capita income

has risen to more than \$1,000 from \$300.

Taking his role as essentially absolute. He is head of state, commander-in-chief, secretary general of the Ba'ath party and runs most of Syria's myriad intelligence agencies. Syria can breathe wherever "You can't breathe in Damascus without his knowing it." His inner circle—known as the Jamia, Arabic for "the company"—is size Atlantic, with brothers and cousins holding critical posts. One brother, Hafez, heads the Defense Brigades, a crack force of 30,000 which secures internal security. But where Hafez al-Assad is regarded to be a man of conservative habits, a nondrinker and nonsmoker with one wife and five children, the younger brother has earned quite a different reputation. Some Western newspaper accounts credit him with four wives and many mistresses. Other reports say Hafez controls Syria's illicit drug trade and last year deposited millions of dollars in foreign bank accounts.

Maneuvers. Our trail the brothers share, however, is a talent for ruthlessness. In January, 1982, Assad's intelligence services unfurled plans for a coup. Dozens were arrested and, it is presumed, executed. The next month the Muslim Brotherhood, a group of Sunni extremists dedicated to Assad's overthrow, incited disturbances in Hama—Syria's fourth-largest city. Assad's reaction divided the September, 1982, massacre of Palestinians in Beirut's Sabra and Shatila refugee camps. Government forces sealed off the entire town and subjected it to intense aerial and artillery bombardment. Amnesty International estimated a minimum of 10,000 deaths. Assad never put the figure at 20,000. Virtually half the town, once called the loveless city in Syria, was literally razed to the ground. Since then, many Sunnis—Syria's major sect—have fled into exile. The regime (Bosnia purged Christians and Druses alike, while Syria's Jews have been denied all civil rights. Last last year Assad banished six religious parties for engaging in politics. The penalty for violation is hard labor.) still stand in the Damascus central squares, and the regime is not averse to teaching a public lesson. Last year, commemorating the 10th anniversary of the Yom Kippur War, Syrian television broadcast a ceremony in which young Syrian girls chewed off the heads of live snakes, while soldiers walked among dogs and apes, ordered to break their blood.

Assad Assad ruthlessness



Abroad, Assad has been as less powerful in his resolve. Although he is often portrayed as a Soviet puppet, he ignores the Kremlin's interests when they conflict with his own. Moscow tried unsuccessfully to persuade Assad to stay out of Lebanon in 1976, and last year the Soviets had to mount heavy pressure to curb Syria's promise of the anti-Arafat pact. In fact, Assad's unpredictability may be one reason that the new Soviet surface-to-air missile loans in Syria are marked by Soviet—not Syrian—technicians. The Kremlin does not want Assad to start another uncertain war with Israel. But, notes Daniel Slone, a Sovietologist at Johns Hopkins School for Ad-

vanced International Studies: "Jerusalem and Damascus both have considerable leverage over their patrons, and it may be impossible for the superpowers to control them."

Similarly, while Assad recovers an estimated \$1 billion a year from the Saudis, he has still backed Iran—feared by all the Persian Gulf states—in its long war with Iraq. When the Arab League summit convened at Fez in 1982 to discuss a Saudi peace plan for the Middle East, Assad registered his opposition by simply boycotting the event.

The major question now is what Assad will do in Lebanon. Some analysts note that historically Lebanon and Syria are one nation. They shared common currency, and former Lebanese prime minister Shafik al-Wazzan even remembers writing "Beirut, Syria" in texts as a schoolboy. Most Syrians believe Lebanon was stolen from its birth during the breakup of the Ottoman Empire in the 1920s. Still, it is not clear

whether Assad really is really intent on securing Greater Syria—Bilad al-Sham—which, 1,800 years ago, ruled not only the Levant but the territory that now comprises Jordan and Israel as well.

Realists instead, Arab experts say, Assad's goal is to keep any one of Lebanon's factions—Druse, Christian, Shi'ite, Sunni—from acquiring decisive power. Says a U.S. state department official: "Syria's objective is to maximize its influence in Lebanon so that whoever rules does not act in ways prejudicial to Syrian interests." In practice that means a government unable to make peace with Israel. Gemayel's fate is almost immaterial. His successor

"There can only be a settlement if there is a clear winner," says Edward Lattin, of Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies. "And the Syrians are not going to permit that to happen."

The second scenario is both more dangerous and more uncertain. As Syria begins to assimilate its new air defense system, it may become adventurous. Conversely, the Israelis may feel tempted to pre-empt a Syrian campaign in the skies and restore the regional balance of power in its favor. "The Israeli will not allow Assad to reach military parity," said Joseph Chomra of the Washington-based Center for International Security. "There may not be a



Syrians shopping in a crowded bazaar in Damascus: a harsh regime not averse to teaching a public lesson in obedience

would have no more leverage. "The Gemayel we knew and loved is dead," says Robert Heaton. "The man we see now is a different man, trying to not deal with the Syrians," he says. "The Christians know the game is up. They cannot run a unified government. They are going back to their enclaves—Vatnan City East—and telling Gemayel he cannot suppress May 17 in a way to undermine his authority."

As for the future in Lebanon and neighboring states, there are two popular scenarios. The first assumes the inevitability of de facto partition. If a new government can be patched together, it may talk, separately, to Damascus and Jerusalem about troop withdrawal. But that will lead nowhere. The various factions will vie for power, and there will be sporadic violence but no full-scale civil war. Israeli planes will likely continue occasional bombing runs as Palestinian guerrillas infiltrate the southern sector. It is clear, tragically for Lebanon, that it has become an arena

mandate in Israel for the Lebanese war but there would be one for Syria—a short war, 30 hours, all in the air."

Whatever happens, Hafez al-Assad—the Damascus of the Arabs, as some abroad have called him—is going to be at the center of the action. Against heavy odds, he has taken as Ronald Reagan and run the Marines out of a city that he regards as part of his sphere of influence. He has used Lebanon to perform acts of resistance and independence and he is now dealing with a very strong hand. "He has a veto," concludes one state department official. "But a veto does not let you sit at the table. If you want to play, you have to lay down your cards." Assad will doubtless lay down his cards when it is to his advantage, not before. For now, he seems content to let the world take the road to Damascus. It was Kissinger, again, who said "Without Egypt, there can be no war against Israel. Without Syria there can be no peace."

With Anita Wright in Beirut.

Preparing the final push



Israel tank crew: for the region, an Iranian victory would be cataclysmic

As Shi'ite and Druze militias in Lebanon tightened their grip on the capital of Beirut last week, Iran's army Shi'ite legions opened a new and destructive offensive in the country's 34-year war with neighboring Iraq. Diplomats in Baghdad claimed that Iran had massed six million men along the 1,180-km common border. Meanwhile, there were reports from Tehran that Iran had opened a two-pronged attack on a 100-km front in the Chahal region, near the Iranian town of Dehloran. Then, Iranian troops struck further north, near the strategic Iraqi oil port of Basra. But Iraqi President Saddam Hussein remained defiant in the face of the onslaught. "The criminals wanted a decisive battle, so let it be a decisive battle that will defend the evil, eloquentest arms of the country." After 24 hours of fierce fighting, the total dead claimed by both sides reached 8,500.

Allegation The Iranian offensive had been expected in Western capitals for days. Military analysts had noted an intensification of air and missile attacks by both sides. Iranian threats to close the strategic Strait of Hormuz also revived fears that the war might cut off oil supplies from the Persian Gulf, whose nations supply 48 per cent of Western needs in Washington the

Pentagon last week denied a report that a U.S. task force was heading for the strait. It said that the aircraft carrier Midway and its escorts remained on station in the northern Arabian Sea, the normal operating area for U.S. carriers since 1979. But in London, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said

the House of Commons that British warships might back U.S. military action to keep the oil flowing. In fact, the destroyer Glamorgan and the frigate Brannen were already patrolling areas near the gulf. But, by week's end, Iranian Prime Minister Ali Khamenei announced that his country would not block the Strait of Hormuz, provided that foreign powers did not deny Iranian ships access.

Still, the escalating conflict's effect on oil exports heightened concern in the Gulf states. Kuwaiti Defense Minister Sheikh Sabah al-Jabir declared the Iranian threats to close the strait. But he also warned against big-power intervention in the regional conflict. Sabah spoke as defence ministers of the six-nation Gulf Co-operation Council—a mutual defence group which includes Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Qatar and Oman—held a meeting in Qatar. He told reporters, "We shall resist foreign interference at all levels."

Peaceful In the wake of the new Iranian offensive, both sides last week made widely differing claims of victory which could not be independently confirmed. Official Iraqi communiqués boasted that the Iranian onslaught was "totally wiped out, with thousands of bodies left on the battlefield." But Tehran radio said that Iranian troops had crushed Iraqi forward positions near Dehloran and advanced 40 km toward Basra, capturing the town of al-Qurnah at the junction of the Baghdad and Tigris rivers. An Iranian war correspondent reported that Iranian units were advancing on the Iraqi city of Barbalah. "The enemy forces are fleeing, the capture front is shrouded in smoke and the roar of arms," he added.

As a 100-person delegation cancelled a planned visit to the two countries, the outcome of the battle remained in doubt. But Israeli intelligence officials warned that the battle's outcome could have far-reaching effects on the Middle East. One Israeli analyst stated that if Iran proves victorious, "the fire will spread, and there will be Iranian troops with the Syrians" deep inside Lebanon. One thing is clear: a military resuscitation in the endless Gulf war will only further complicate the already intractable Middle East conundrum.

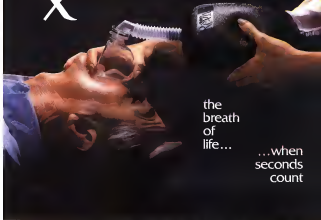
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Japan's ultimatum to Dome

By Arthur Johnson

In Tokyo frantic telephone calls from Ottawa roused top Canadian Embassy officials from their beds in the middle of the night. In Toronto and New York a wave of mail orders forced stock exchanges trading in shares of Dome Petroleum Ltd. for a day. And in Calgary reporters besieged officials at Dome's head office. The reason for the international uproar: press reports that Japanese Trade Minister Ehsa-buro Okagaki had told senior Japanese officials that Japan, which has invested \$400 million in Dome's Beaufort Sea explorations, had lost faith in the Canadian company and would cut off further investment. Okagaki's remarks quickly sent jittery through North American investment circles and cast new doubt on the future of the long-term prospects for Arctic energy exploration.

The Japanese decision came as the debt-plagued Dome continued efforts to sell a massive refinancing scheme. The company is determined to avoid using a \$1.5-billion bondless scheme worked out with its bankers and the federal government in 1982 that might give Ottawa a major stake in Dome's ownership. Instead, it is still struggling to win acceptance from North American bankers for an alternative plan to refinance its \$2.5-billion debt load—an amount equal to about one-fifth of Canada's 1982 federal deficit. Within hours of the reports from Tokyo, Dome and the federal government moved to downplay the significance of Japan's growing discontent. But the damage was already done. By week's end Dome shares fell 35 cents to \$4.15. And even Dome officials admitted that plans to raise \$700 million through a public share offering this year had been jeopardized.

The first word of the financial storm reached the Canadian Embassy in Tokyo when nervous Canadian government officials telephoned at midnight in Ottawa requesting clarification of Okagaki's remarks. The Canadian Embassy at 12:30 in the morning when the plane came with news that the TV news anchor member 1 on radio and TV in Canada, said Dome Nagai, energy resources councillor at the Canadian Embassy in Tokyo. "Cabinet ministers were demanding an explanation." Almost at the same time, a Dome official awakened Bob Bookbinder, the ambas-

ad's oil specialist, requesting more information. Late the next afternoon the embassy obtained a translation of the full text of Okagaki's controversial statement, and it was not reassuring. Questioned by opposition members in the parliament, Okagaki had said that Japan would provide no more money for Dome's Beaufort explorations until the company "fully recovers and an assurance is obtained of the project's com-



Okagaki's remarks that caused an uproar

mercial feasibility extended from every possible angle."

When the controversy broke, Dome Chairman Howard Macdonald, who took over the post last fall from founder Jack Gallagher, was about to speak at a Calgary luncheon of the Petroleum Association's Society of Western Canada. A crowd of reporters eager to question him on Okagaki's pessimistic view of Dome's Beaufort explorations was barred from attending. But after the

speech journalists pressed Macdonald for blacks through the city until he finally paused long enough to say, "It would be naive in the extreme" to expect production in the Beaufort after only a few years of exploration.

After assuring the damage, Dome spokesman David Anzley was somewhat more gloomy. Declared Anzley: "The controversy has not hurt Dome as far as the bankers are concerned. They know what was going on. But as far as investors are concerned, any bad news hurts." He said the largest of the company's plans to raise \$700 million through a share offering cannot be measured. But, he said, "It has to have some serious damage. Just having our shares delisted on the exchanges for a day hurts."

One of Dome's creditors was more blunt. A U.S. banker said that the Japanese controversy makes it virtually impossible for Dome to raise a share issue this year. The banker, who would not allow his name to be used, added that Dome must now work until investors "are again lulled into a sense of security." That, he suggested, "will not happen until sometime next year." For Dome any delay would be serious because the share issue is a key part of the refinancing strategy. Although the company's current cash flow is sufficient to make interest payments on its debt, the \$700 million is needed urgently for research and development and for acquiring properties.

In some banking circles there is skepticism about Dome's reasonings that an agreement will be reached with its nearly 50 bank creditors by the end of March. The reason is a sense that few, if any, bankers are willing to agree on a early refinancing proposal. A key factor, some bankers speculate, will be whether the natural gas giant cases in the United States and Canada and the financial feasibility of Dome's plans to sell liquefied natural gas to Japan and other customers overseas.

For Dome, the all-important issue now is the public's perception of its financial stability. In early February, Macdonald and Donald Palinteria, managing director of the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, were spotted attending a private lunch at the exclusive Toronto Club. The next day Dome's shares jumped 20 cents because of speculation that a refinancing agreement was in-



Dome ships in the Beaufort, Macdonald's role of nonconfidence from Tokyo set off a wave of investment panic

minent, even though there were no actual reports of what the two men had discussed.

The sheer size of Dome's debt and the opposing interests of the many creditors preclude any fast settlement. For one thing, U.S. bankers are lending conservatism led by New York-based Citibank have made it clear that they want to be paid before Dome's Canadian creditors. And the members of the Citibank group have the best security for their \$2 billion in loans. But Dome's refinancing proposal would mean faster repayment for a group of Canada's largest chartered banks, which held \$2.5 billion in loans.

What is more, the Dome refinancing proposal is based on assumptions that some analysts feel are speculative at best. Dome is predicting that interest rates will remain stable until the end of the decade and that oil prices will jump to \$35 a barrel by 1995. But Macdonald has pointed out that an interest rate increase of only one percentage point would mean the company would face additional payments of \$20 million a year. And economists are divided on whether or not interest rates can be held down beyond the U.S. election in November. As for oil prices, few analysts are prepared to look 10 years into the future. The one comforting factor for Dome is that with so much at

stake in Arctic development, including loans and future energy hopes, neither the banks nor the federal government can afford to let the company founder.

In 1982 the federal government set aside \$400 million to bail out Dome from its debt crisis. So far, Dome has not called upon the money, and the government has refused to tie general revenues. But to calm fears raised by the Japanese move, Finance Minister Marc Lalonde initiated last week that the money is still available if needed. That offer led to a rocky crisis day. Shortly it was learned that federal aid to Dome be suspended until a public inquiry has scrutinized the company's operations.

At the same time, pressure is mounting on the Japanese government to justify its involvement with Dome. The fortunes of oil-starved Japan and money-hungry Dome became entwined in 1980 when they struck a deal that seemed to offer both parties a solution to pressing problems. For Dome, the terms were favorable. The Japan National Oil Corp. advanced Dome an interest-free \$400 million for the Beaufort Sea oil exploration program. In return, Japan was to get between 30 and 35 per cent of any oil. Dome produced from its Beaufort venture. And if oil was never brought out, Dome's only obligation was to repay the principal by the year 2020, at which

time it would be worth \$6 billion after inflation.

The Japanese are also concerned about the future of Dome's plans to build a \$3.5-billion liquid natural gas plant in British Columbia for exports. Five Japanese utilities contracted with Dome to purchase 2.6 million metric tons of liquefied natural gas annually for 25 years. But Dome's debt problems have already delayed the project for a year. In early January one of the Japanese firms, Chubu Electric Power Co. Inc., threatened to withdraw from the deal if there were further delays. That prompted Dome's Macdonald to go to Tokyo for talks. During his visit Chubu and four other utilities granted Macdonald a one-year extension and agreed to wait until 1987 for deliveries. But Chubu officials warned Macdonald that a further delay would force the utility to pull out of the agreement. After Macdonald returned to Canada, Chubu President, Susumu Tanaka declared bluntly, "We will call off the deal unless Dome Petroleum comes out with this summer with solid plans for its financial reconstruction."

The Beaufort deal is equally controversial in Japan. The Japan Socialist Party, the country's leading opposition party, has established a task force to explore the agreement and to press the government for answers on the deal.

At Dome's Calgary headquarters, company officials were working on a much more immediate problem: negotiation with nearly 50 bankers over the company's \$6.5-billion debt.

With Peter McGill in Tokyo and Graham Stewart in Calgary

The Mackenzie Valley line

The team of heavily dressed men working in the bush near Fort Simpson in the Northwest Territories is in a race against time. With military efficiency and supported by a noisy armada of tractors, trucks and helicopters, the employees of Interprovincial Pipe Line Ltd. (IPL) are laying lengths of bright orange pipeline at the rate of 14 km a day. The haste of the work is because -40° temperatures keep the moose beneath them frozen. And by June, 1988, after two 90-day winter work periods, IPL plans to complete the first pipeline down the Mackenzie Valley—ironically, where local opposition

chief Justice Thomas Berger rejected the plan by a consortium of gas companies to build a gas pipeline in the Mackenzie Valley and called for a 30-year moratorium on energy development in the area until the settlement of native land claims. Now, even though the land claims issue remains unresolved and the territorial and federal governments have not worked out a revenue-sharing agreement, the oil pipeline is under way with a minimum of controversy. The reason the companies involved was the support of many of the Mackenzie Valley's 11,000 Métis and Inuit Indians by offering them lucrative joint ventures.



Pipeline construction: a preview to the full-scale development of an energy corridor

once blocked the massive gas line of a multinational consortium.

Completion of the \$456-million pipeline will open the door to full-scale development of the resource-rich corridor running from the Beaufort Sea to the northern Alberta border. New debt was cut last week on the commercial viability of the quest for oil and gas in the Beaufort Sea when Japan announced that it would make no further investments in Dome Petroleum Ltd.'s operations there (page 36). But construction on the pipeline is proceeding as it will stretch from Norman Wells, a town on the banks of the Mackenzie River, to Zama, Alta., and carry 55,000 barrels of light crude oil a day to southern markets. Just seven years ago former British Columbia

and jobs in the development.

The IPL pipeline is designed to transport oil produced at the Norman Wells oilfield owned by Esso Resources of Canada Ltd. Esso is currently carrying out a \$700-million expansion of its Norman Wells operations and constructing six artificial drilling islands in the middle of the Mackenzie River. By 1995 the oil giant intends to drill 150 new wells to tap an estimated 600 million barrels of oil—most of it under the river—that it estimates will provide 30 years' supply.

Eventually, oil and gas pipelines may extend north from Norman Wells to link up the energy resources of the Beaufort Sea with the south. This summer the Toronto-based Polar Gas Project, a consortium of firms, will apply for National Energy Board (NEB) approval

to build a gas pipeline similar to that rejected by Berger to run from the Mackenzie Delta to Zama.

IPL won NEB approval for the Norman Wells pipeline in 1981 after seven years of planning, public hearings and intense scrutiny by federal regulatory agencies. To win public and government support for its plans, IPL spent \$17.5 million and created an estimated 889 jobs in northern communities. Of that number, northerners trained by IPL. IPL 178. The company works 30-hour days, seven days a week, for periods of as much as six weeks during the winter months. In each six-week stint they can earn between \$8,000 and \$12,000. The high salaries virtually eliminate complaints about the better climate or rigid working rules.

According to Hugh Sanger, assistant project manager, IPL has spent \$60 million in hiring contractors in the north. \$10 million of which has gone directly to native enterprises. Local hands have signed lucrative contracts to clear the right-of-way for the pipeline, manufacture casings and cement weights and replace the area once construction is completed.

Esso has taken similar steps to win local support. Last summer it signed a \$5-million joint venture with the Inuvik and Métis native groups. Through the new company, Inuvik Drilling Ltd., the natives gained an equal ownership with Esso of rigs now operating profitably at Norman Wells. John Koyan, a young Yellowknife Métis who is a rig manager, says the firm receives a steady stream of job applications from native communities. "This is the best thing that has ever happened to me."

Some of the Inuvik chiefs who once told Berger that they would give up their lands to stop a pipeline now see the partnership as a bargain with an historic enemy. Former Inuvik nation president George Emerson said the natives considered the deal with Esso because of the opportunity to gain skills and the conviction that a small state in the northern oil patch was worth the risk of possibly jeopardizing their land claims negotiations. Now native people are waiting to see whether the relationship proves to be more substantial or as important president for the future.

—BANDRA SOUCHETTE in Yellowknife

The cost of Canadianization

In recent years Canadian taxpayers have grown accustomed to paying a large portion of the costs for frontier oil and gas exploration—but now critics are questioning whether some of those bills are too steep. Under the 1980 National Energy Program, Canadian-controlled energy companies exploring in the northern frontier and the East Coast offshore fields can recover as much as 90 per cent of their costs through federally administered Petroleum Incentive Program grants. The current controversy arose over FIP-subsidized payments by energy firms for leasing services and supply vessels in the Atlantic offshore which they run as much as four times the charges in other parts of the world. In addition one of the leasing firms with lucrative contracts belongs to the corporate empire of energetic Canadian financier Walter Wolf.

According to Richard Sheppard, a spokesman for PetroCanada Ltd., a British firm that markets lease rate information, "Canadian rates are widely excessive by North Sea standards, they are probably the highest in the world." Indeed, lease rates for the powerful vessels, which look like elongated tugboats and serve as the offshore for offshore drilling rigs, are depressed in most areas of the world. Others fortunate enough to find business for their ships are charging rates between \$4,000 and \$5,000 a day in most offshore fields. But PetroCanada has learned that Petro-Canada is paying daily rates of between \$11,000 and \$16,500 for ships. (To qualify for maximum FIP grants the vessels must be leased, not owned, by a Canadian energy firm.)

PetroCanada is paying \$16,500 a day to lease the Andean Giant, a ship built in Marytown, Nfld. The vessel was launched in 1982 under PetroCanada ownership. In 1983 PetroCanada sold the ship for \$17.6 million to a group of Ontario investors and then leased the ship back, making it eligible for FIP subsidies. The new owners can use their investment as a tax shelter and will earn about \$26 million before expenses over a four-year period in PetroCanada's lease payments. The federally owned energy firm can, in turn, recover 90 per cent of its lease payments through FIP grants.

As well, in mid-1985, PetroCanada leased two ships from Wolf Offshore Transport Ltd., a firm owned by Walter Wolf of Montreal, who recently confirmed that he funded anti-Clark letters in the run-up to the federal Progressive Conservative party leadership convention in June. At a daily rate of about \$11,000 each, the two Spanish-built vessels, which were declared at Canada Customs to have a combined worth of about \$20 million, will earn Wolf's firm roughly \$27 million before expenses in the four-year lease period.

PetroCanada is paying higher rates than foreign-controlled Shell Canada Resources Ltd. and Mobil Oil Canada Ltd., which pay between \$8,000 and \$10,000 a day for leased ships. As foreign competitors, they can only recover 25 percent of their expenses through FIP grants.

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A scholarly fight for profits

The Quebec Superior Court also dramatized the hazards of mixing the worlds of business and academia. At a stormy hearing in Montreal last week, two McGill University microbiology professors joined a legal battle against a former employer, an organic chemist, over the ownership of a potentially lucrative invention which could help solve the costly problem of closing up nuclear and waste water. The two professors, Irving DeVoe, 47, and Bruce Holbein, 53, sought an injunction to prevent the chemist, Chui Fai Yuen, 48, from revealing information about, and filing a patent on, a still-invented process. But Yuen bitterly insisted that he created the process and that he should reap the benefits. According to Yuen's lawyer, William Miller, the injunction request was simply a ploy by the professors "to put a gag on Yuen and anyone else who worked in the department of microbiology at McGill."

At issue in the dispute is a potential profit of millions of dollars if private industry buys the discovery. Although the exact nature of the process remains unknown, the discovery involves an insoluble composition that can remove metals from liquids and could be used, among other things, to clean up dangerous waste. As a result, it has tremendous potential for use in nuclear plants and other industries with dangerous byproducts.

The court hearing is only the latest development in the controversy that has plagued the two professors since they announced their discovery two years ago. In a separate case, Yuen is suing the two for \$500,000 for allegedly denying his responsibility for the discovery. He claims he made while working in their lab as a research scientist between February, 1985, and September, 1988 as well, but fell the Montreal Gazette reported the professors may have received federal research grants when they turned their invention into a company-based business enterprise. And Quebec insurance regulators are investigating whether the case was illegally promoted in the companies that they set up to market their discovery.

During the injunction hearing, now in

its fourth week, the court heard conflicting testimony about a crucial factor: the timing of the discovery. Holbein testified that he and DeVoe came up with the idea while working to work on a day in November, 1980. In the following months they researched their initial vision, Holbein said, and they formally advised university officials of the discovery on Jan. 6, 1983. According to Holbein, Yuen began working for the pair a month after that announcement. For his part, Yuen admits that the original idea for the invention came from the two professors, but he insists that he actually made the breakthrough. He



DeVoe (left) and Holbein: a dispute over a lucrative invention

quit his job last September after being excluded from the scientists' patent application.

So far, much of the hearing has been spent settling disputes between Yuen and Superior Court Judge Richard Durand. For one thing, Yuen has adamantly refused to answer questions on the details of the discovery. Miller claims that the professors are on a "fishing expedition" to obtain data which they need to complete their patent application. But Yuen's attorney prompted Durand to rule him for contempt of court on Feb. 14. At the same time, Durand refused a request by Miller that the judge withdraw from the case after an episode in which the lawyer said Durand "yelled" at Yuen. DeVoe and Holbein have responded to the October, 1988, Gazette report that the two scientists used

grants designated for academic research from the federally funded Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada (NSERC) to further commercial research on the invention. Holbein told *Maclean's* that the source encourages recipients of its grants to do commercial research and to seek patent protection for their inventions—a policy confirmed by council secretary Michelle Brechu. What is more, said Holbein, work on the invention has been funded privately since late 1982, when he and DeVoe established DeVoe-Holbein Inc., a Delaware-based firm to market the invention, and Devoe-Holbein (Canada) Inc., which took over the operations at the McGill lab.

But questions remain—not related to the court case—about relations between the fledgling business venture and McGill University. University policy states that McGill must receive 10 per cent of staff members' equity in economically developed inventions. And, on Oct. 3, 1984, McGill received 125,000 DeVoe-Holbein shares in return for relinquishing all rights to the invention. Later, McGill exchanged the shares for stock in DeVoe-Holbein International N.V., a company based in the Netherlands Antilles which the professors created as a corporate parent for their North American firms. Now the Quebec Securities Commission is investigating allegations that the exchange constituted a direct sale of DeVoe-Holbein International

shares to McGill premises—a transaction that may be illegal because the shares are registered for trading only on the Amsterdam stock exchange. The professors deny the charge.

Despite their present troubles, DeVoe and Holbein remain confident that all allegations against them, including Yuen's, will prove unfounded. Declares Holbein: "We have a strong case." The professors hope that DeVoe-Holbein International, which raised \$1.5 million through a private share offering last year, will be able to make a second offering soon. As well, they have applied for patents in Canada, the United States, Japan, Australia and 11 European countries. Still, their experience remains a warning for other would-be businessmen in academia who dream of turning research into profits.

—JENNIFER TORRELL in Montreal



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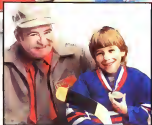
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Opening a door to free trade

It was a refreshing sign of harmony in a relationship strained by months of negotiating setbacks. At a Washington news conference on Feb. 17, International Trade Minister Gerald Regan and his U.S. counterpart, Trade Representative William Brock, beamed with satisfaction as they signed an agreement to set in motion a three-month study into the merits of free trade in steel, agricultural equipment, mass transit vehicles and computer services. Declared Regan: "We are doing something positive at a time when the rest of the world seems to be moving toward more protectionism."

For Canada and the United States, further trade liberalization would strengthen an already symbiotic commercial relationship. More than \$130 billion in goods and services flow annually between the two nations. And about 80 per cent of all Canadian exports to the United States cross the border duty free. Conversely, nearly 60 per cent of U.S. exports to Canada enter free of tariffs. But the problems surrounding the current attempt to extend that open-door policy further will be difficult to surmount. For its part, Canada would benefit from trade liberalization in steel and mass transit vehicles, but its fledgling computer firms and agricultural industry might be harmed by the increased competition.

At the same time, relations between the two countries are still strained in some areas. Canadian officials last week delivered a harsh diplomatic note to the state department protesting the Reagan administration's delay in lifting steel tariffs. And numerous U.S. industries demanded protectionist measures to limit imports of a range of products from copper to steel. But one factor that might help to encourage Canadian trade officials to strike a bargain with the United States on free trade is the threat of new U.S. protectionist measures against foreign steel imports.

Canada currently sells \$1 billion in steel annually to the United States and, under a free-trade agreement, Canada would be exempt from protectionist measures if they were put into effect. But one U.S. trade official "Free trade in steel would protect Canada against U.S. protectionist measures primarily aimed at Europe and Japan." Canadian steelmakers, welcomed the current talks. J. Peter Gordon, chairman of Toronto-based Stelco Inc., told Maclean's that he hopes they will lead to the "mar-

ket place being opened up to a greater extent."

To win such agreements Canadian officials would have to make similar concessions for U.S. firms in other industries. For one thing, the United States is seeking trade liberalization in computer services. So far, trade officials have not determined which aspects of the computer industry will be focused on, but information, computer software and possibly hardware are candidates. RUI, Ronald Evans, president of Toronto-based Evans Research Corp., said that free trade in information processing products and services poses a threat for Canada. In 1982 non-Canadian firms generated \$5.4 billion of the industry's \$5.8 billion in revenues. Evans fears that free trade would cause job losses in Canada since the U.S. firms might then centralize their operations in the United States.

Ultimately, the fate of the free-trade talks will rest on the outcome of the presidential campaign. The leading Democratic candidate for the presidency, Walter Mondale, has expressed relatively protectionist views. And if he wins the presidency in November, the current quest for more free trade will likely be quickly ended.

—JAMES FLEMING, with Ann Austin and Alex Philpott in Toronto and William Lottman in Washington.



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Why the mail may get through

By Peter C. Newman

"The post office just tested its new automated parcel-sorting equipment. Parcels were mangled, misdirected, lost and destroyed... Imagine—a machine that does the work of four men!"

—The Royal Canadian Air Force

That skit by the CBC's resident satirist reflects fairly accurately the image many Canadians have of the post office. But, according to Michael Warren, chief executive officer, the office who took over the beleaguered federal agency two years ago, it's a stereotype that is less and less accurate. Last week Warren and his board of directors completed the draft of a business plan which, during the next 35 months, should develop the post office into a money-making Crown corporation or lead it toward privatization of its most profitable functions.

Warren may be too optimistic in what he intends to achieve, but there is no shortage of creative or ingenious in his approach. "The Canadian taxpayer," he told *Maclean's*, "has had enough of subsidizing the post office's inefficiencies. We really have no choice. The challenge is how we can keep our people creatively turned on so that we can take some pride in an employer that that nasty old post office—but instead a postal corporation, serving people, that is lean and mean and getting the business."

When Warren took over, the post office was bleeding for a \$1-billion deficit. During the intervening 34 months the deficit has been cut by \$700 million, overhead costs are down \$95 million, overtime payments have been reduced by \$58 million, and the organization's civilian labor force has been reduced out by 3,000. At the same time, sales are up—\$40 million over Warren's own target—and service has markedly improved. The problem with this ray of sunshine is that it comes at a time when first-class mail rates have been raised by a shattering 68 per cent and the government has been jumping in a \$3-billion subsidy. That brooding arrangement ended in 1987, leaving Warren with 100% room to maneuver. "Many of Canada Post's products and services are at the edge of their price competitiveness," he says, "so we have introduced previously planned price increases, and from now on our decisions will be market- and customer-driven, not union- and government-sponsored as once was the case."

It is a gamble, but Warren realizes that the post office no longer has an effective monopoly. It is Canada's fifth-largest employer (62,000 workers) and its 13th-largest corporation (annual sales are \$2.4 billion), but the half of its revenue that flows from first-class mail is being seriously undercut by private courier services, electronic mail systems and separate parcel delivery organizations.

Warren is fighting back with his courier service, Priority Post, and has won contracts from 4,000 corporate cus-



Warren: lean, mean and getting business

tomers, including Bell Canada, Imperial Oil, Great-West Life and American Express. His executives are experimenting with various aspects of electronic mail, customer refunds for delayed services and several other new wrinkles. The post office's biggest success has been in increasing direct mail business. "At combined annual sales of \$2 billion, that trade now makes second only to daily newspapers among advertising media," he says.

If Warren and his able board chair-

man, Ross Martin (and their way, the post office could probably fulfil their most optimistic expectations, but 70 per cent of its expenditures are for labor, and its eight unions are better known for their militancy than for their model of prudent reason. When he was told about Warren's new business plan, William Findlay, executive vice-president of the relatively moderate Letter Carriers Union, accused the post office president of "treachery of the lowest order" and of acting to feed "his above-board selfishness." Hugh-Claude Fauriol, head of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers, threatened "industrial chaos" if the plan is not modified.

Warren, who has been meticulously careful to consult the unions at every stage of his reforms, is somewhat puzzling in his objectives. "The fundamental issue," he says, "is to find ways of improving our productivity performance and sharing the result and the benefits with our employees, making certain they understand there is really no other way to ensure job security." For 60,000 people taken out of the bosom of government only 24 months ago—where the phrase "customer-driven demand" never crossed anyone's lips—it is less an economic than a political triumph. Says Warren: "They think our path toward breaking even is much too steep, but most of them have accepted the fact that three years from now we will be much more competitive with a greater degree of security for our employees. The political dilemma of the union leaders is what to do in the interval."

Warren has already changed senior management: 56 of the post office's top 145 executives have been recruited from the private sector, but his most controversial move is raising the self-esteem of rank-and-file workers. "If the union leaders decide to strike a death blow at our post," he warns, "that would raise the spectre of privatization. If they cannot accept our policy of no layoffs but reduction through attrition, we may have to spin off the post office's profitable parts, leaving it as a small branch of government responsible for delivering health and welfare cheques to remote villages. Most of our people have enough common sense to know that what has been going on for the past 10 years can't continue forever."

If Warren is right, the Royal Canadian Air Force's dog, Rexford, and his dog, Cuddles, may have to seek other nefarious plots.

PEOPLE

Sited in her elegant, pastel-pale living room in Toronto, *Model Moore* looks every inch the glamorous hostess of the recently syndicated television talk show *You're Beautiful! But, wait! Moore, 42, she auditioned for the program in 1977 wearing a "Don Amacha" moustache. Her experience as an actress and writer and what she calls her "hills-pal" approach got her the job, and the popular show made her an overnight success. As she put it, "It only took me 11 years." Now in demand, Moore has landed roles in the upcoming film *Prime Heatwave* and the CBC series *Strong Ties*. And drawing on her own experience, she is writing a book aimed at women, offering advice on love, sex, men, careers and self-image covered frequently on her show. Those subjects and her chatty format inspired a witty *Screened City* parody, *Andrea Moore*, whose star, *Merle*, was Moore's production manager on *You're Beautiful!*, plays Fiona Moore, hostess of *Libby Walcott*. Moore, who once studied with the actress, enjoys it immensely. "My greatest desire," she said, "is to have Andrea invite me on the show as Libby's guest."*

Transatlantic rumormongers rekindled interest in the lives of Britain's Royal Family last week. *Prince Andrew*, who is commonly known as "Buddy Andy," celebrated his 34th birthday at the home of model *Katie Roberts*, 33, and their three-month-old secret friendship became public. The pair met at a photographic exhibition in Mayfair, where some of Andrew's photographs—as well as those by his former, headline-making girlfriend, *Kia Sten*—were on display. Robert's turn in the limelight revealed that when she was in her late teens she was a member of the nightclub dance troupe the *Bowled Generation*, which performed in clubs in such exotic places as Cuba and the French Riviera. She then turned to modelling and has been featured in *Vogue* and several women's "lure love" magazines. Now agencies are clamoring for her services. *Newsweek* will have a chance to see more of her in her role as a dancer in *Bedford Palace's* *Red Hot*. But, in a moment of biting repartee, Robert refused to discuss her relationship with the



Moore (top) Robert (center) Amongst angry protests at his presence



prince. In contrast to Stark, Robert apparently got an "aggressive strategy" rating from *Andrew's* mother, *Queen Elizabeth*.

Quebec's cultural communities and immigration minister, *Gisèle Gauthier*, links the performance of the French language instead of "on" or "off," he hopes that Quebecers will soon be replacing their stereo equipment and electrical appliances as purveyors of marches or stunts. That sort of needs the co-operation of U.S. and Japanese musicians. Gauthier instructed the Quebec delegation in Tokyo to encourage the Japanese to boost their production of equipment with French machines for export to Quebec and followed up during a tour of the Far East. The move apparently stemmed from an informal meeting with French officials in Quebec City. "If France and Quebec jobs flows and team up with other francophone countries, they could convince the producing countries to respect not only their buying power but also their language," said Gauthier. But it seems may be less committed to that goal than Quebec in The Quebec education department selected a French-designed Anxi-80 computer for use in its schools, one of the decisions cited by provincial officials as its incomplete set of French characters.

Love him or hate him, *Henry Kissinger* always draws a crowd. Last week in Vancouver he drew two crowds. One group of 3,000 paid \$100 to listen to the former U.S. secretary of state address a dinner in aid of Vancouver's Arts, Sciences and Technology Council. The other—the 400-strong Coalition Against the Kissinger Visit—angrily protested his presence by preventing his black limousine from dropping off 175 outside the Hyatt Hotel. The controversy started three weeks ago, when city council passed a resolution asking the dinner's sponsors to give equal time to a speaker who would balance Kissinger's views on Central America. They refused "Henry the K," warned that there might be trouble, briefly chose to face the risks and peeked his \$30,000 speaking fee. Asked what he thought of the possibility of a demonstration, he replied like a true Republican, "It's a free country." ♦

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A controversial pyramid for the Louvre

By Maeri McDonald

A first glance it resembles a spectral fragment of a science fiction artist's imagination. A translucent glass pyramid rises eerily against the ancient stone backdrop of Paris's venerable palace-museum, the Louvre. But the unlikely mix of spaces is concrete enough to have provoked the loudest controversy in French architecture for almost a decade. Proposed by celebrated New York-based architect I.M. Pei, the 66-foot-high glass pyramid is the contentious centerpiece of a plan

since then, Pei's striking minimalist towers of glass and steel have solidified his reputation as one of the reigning masters of contemporary American architecture. Controversy as admired the marriage of modern and neoclassical architecture that Pei orchestrated in the new wing of Washington's National Gallery that, shortly after Nitterland's closure three years ago, the president commissioned Pei to take on the Louvre.

Pei's problem was how to expand the Louvre without trifling with the facade of the historical treasure. His solution

will surround the main pyramid.

Despite Pei's determination not to touch the Louvre facade, critics have attacked his modernist visions as an assault on its spirit. *Le Monde* damned the pyramid as too showy and too commercial. The Louvre, wrote commentator André Frenkelier, is not a department store. The opposition daily *Le Peuple*, which turned the anti-pyramid campaign into a cause célèbre, published a poll which showed that 90 per cent of surveyed Frenchmen opposed the project, while favoring some renovation of the Louvre.

Pei's problem was how to expand the Louvre without trifling with the facade of the historical treasure. His solution



Model of Pei's design for the expansion of the museum: 'treating the courtyard of the Louvre like an arena to display'

to expand the world's most famous, and infamously overcrowded, art museum.

Indeed, earlier this month, as President François Mitterrand bestowed his stamp of approval on the project, he faced a storm of petitions and protests over a design that critics have attacked as a desecration of the sacred heart of French culture. Declared the normally pro-government daily *Le Monde*: "They say M. Pei adores pyramids. But that does not justify treating the courtyard of the Louvre like an arena to be desecrated."

Pei is no stranger to controversy. Fifteen years ago the 60-year-old, Chinese-born architect proposed a controversial glass pavilion for the Kennedy Library in Boston. But the ensuing outcry forced him to relocate the site to Boston's out-

skirts. Since then, Pei's striking minimalist towers of glass and steel have solidified his reputation as one of the reigning masters of contemporary American architecture. Controversy as admired the marriage of modern and neoclassical architecture that Pei orchestrated in the new wing of Washington's National Gallery that, shortly after Nitterland's closure three years ago, the president commissioned Pei to take on the Louvre.

Pei's problem was how to expand the Louvre without trifling with the facade of the historical treasure. His solution

But to the National Union of French Architects the most galling aspect is that once again a foreign architect has won a major French cultural commission, this time without an international competition. Indeed, the Louvre project comes on the heels of Mitterrand's choice last November of Toronto architect Carlos Ott to build Paris's new opera house at the Bastille (Monica's Nov 28, 1983). Replied Ott, a longtime admirer of Pei who is diplomatically reserving judgment on the Louvre pyramid: "Any Frenchman has the right to protest where his tax money is being spent. But he should remember that the most important architectural project in Canadian history—the Olympic Stadium—was awarded with no competition to Roger Taillibert, a Frenchman." Q

A wide-angle view from the heavens

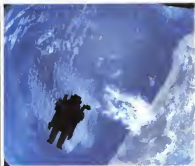
It was the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's answer to Hollywood's version of space flight in *The Right Stuff*. Last week an invited audience at the Davis Planetarium in Jackson, Miss., previewed spectacular film footage shot aboard NASA's most recent space shuttle flight. Projected on the planetarium dome, the 35-mm film, which a group of five U.S. planetariums called Cosmos 360 produced, offered dramatic footage of what an astronaut sees in space. A pair of 25-lb. Arriflex cameras on the inside of the Challenger's cabin and in the cargo bay shot the film, and back on Earth a 160,000 projector transmitted the wide-angle images into the planetarium's 60-ft-diameter ceiling. Ronald McNair, one of the Challenger astronauts on this month's flight who was at the Jackson screening, speculated that the audience on Earth probably saw a more striking panorama of space than crew members in the shuttle cabin.

In the most breathtaking scene from the 38-minute film, astronaut Bruce McCandless tumbles gracefully across the screen as his un tethered space walk against a backdrop of Earth, mostly blue with pink land masses. Inside the shuttle, the camera recorded unprecedented detail as astronauts fished switches in the cockpit and grabbed drifting bits of foam out of the atmosphere with their teeth.

The success of the \$400,000 experiment with the first 20-mm movie camera on the shuttle has led agency officials to consider making it a regular feature aboard future missions, along with video cameras and 16-mm film cameras. Under a joint agreement, Cosmos 360 and NASA will send the camera on two more flights this year to complete a full-length documentary by next fall.

For the five planetariums, the current film, titled *The Space Shuttle: An Astronaut's Adventure*, will mean a new boost in box office receipts. Right now other planetariums have also stood for prints. For NASA, the venture is a welcome relief from the trouble-plagued flight of the shuttle and helps the agency to fulfill its mandate to inform the public about its activities. That initiative will peak this summer, when NASA begins to accept applications from people in the commercial field and the arts who want to fly as shuttle passengers. But for those who will never experience space flight, the film will provide a stunning substitute.

—ANN WALBRIDGE in Toronto



McCandless outlooks the shuttle, tumbling gracefully against the backdrop of Earth



McCandless preparing for spacewalk (left); astronaut Vance Brand; unprecedented

Questioning the fairness of inquiries

In the town of Sherbrooke, Que., hundreds of spectators crowded an auditorium to hear Coroner Duys Thorne deliver his judgment, which was also broadcast live on a local radio station. They burst into cheers when Thorne ruled that three Sherbrooke policemen had acted criminally and negligently during a December raid on a motel room when an innocent man was shot to death. Meanwhile, in Toronto a former nursing supervisor was testifying before a royal commission inquiry about her suspicions that a fellow nurse, Paylle Traynor, had killed babies at the city's largest hospital for Sick Children. Such cases outraged defence lawyers, who argued that publicity surrounding the sensational accusations meant that if and when the policemen or the nurse went to trial, they would have difficulty getting an impartial hearing. Said police lawyer Michel Proks: about the Quebec inquiry system: "It is a total abuse of power."

But concerns about the potential abuse of power by commissions of inquiry are not limited to lawyers representing clients under examination. University of Ottawa law professor Ed Kavanagh has argued for more than six years for limitations on the powers of inquiry. Said Kavanagh, author of the book *Self-Investigation in the Canadian Criminal Process*: "Using commissions of inquiry to investigate criminal offences makes an absolute sham of the justice system." He denounced public inquiries as "ultimately fishing expeditions that limit the powers of the accused person to defend himself." University of Toronto law professor Alan Menzies said that the purpose of such inquiries is to receive evidence and answer questions. In some cases, such as investigations of organized crime, they can gather information that may not be available by any other means. And many commissions have provided governments with valuable information as to how to change legislation. But, Menzies added, "The difficulty lies in balancing the demands of justice with the rights of the individual."

The Sherbrooke coroner's verdict arose from an accident on Dec. 23, in which police officers killed 35-year-old Serge Beaudoin, a carpet layer from Annapolis, Que. They fired 20



Coroner of Grange inquiry hearing "evidence that no Crown attorney would look at."

rounds from an 11th submachine-gun through a motel room door in the mistaken belief that the two men inside had robbed and killed a Bank's guard two days earlier. Beaudoin died immediately; his colleague, Jean-Paul Beaumont, suffered a bullet wound to his chest. In his five-page judgment, Thorne accused detectives Michel Salvail, Roger Dine and Andre Gauthier of "serious negligence" and "unjustified use of force" in Beaudoin's death. The coroner's judgment had no legal force; in effect, it was a recommendation to the Crown attorney's office to lay charges. By week's end the three officers faced a total of six charges, ranging from dangerous use of firearms to, in one case, manslaughter.

But Proks had made his worries clear immediately after Thorne announced his findings. Said the police lawyer: "If criminal charges are laid as I expect they will be—how can my clients receive a fair trial after the atmosphere of suspicion that has arisen here?"

Proks was further dismayed by the fact that the hearing did not take into consideration recent changes in the Quebec Coroner's Act. In response to a call for reform by Quebec lawyers, the national assembly has removed the right of coroners to proclaim that a crime has been committed. The assembly approved a new coroner's act in December, but it does not come into effect until its proclamation is still undetermined date.

Toronto lawyers representing some nurses at the Hospital for Sick Children were equally indignant last week. They were particularly distressed by the testimony of co-accusing supervisor Kelly Coulton before Mr. Justice Simons Grange's commission, which is investigating the unexplained deaths of 36 infants at the hospital in 1980 and 1981. Coulton said at once as she had heard in early 1981 that police were looking into the possibility of homicide, she was

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peeled Traynor. Another nurse, Susan Stiles, subsequently faced four charges of murdering babies but was discharged after a preliminary hearing. By then, Coulson told the Grange inquiry last week, she was no longer a candidate for Traynor. Coulson testified that she told police she did not think Traynor "had the brains to be behind murdering as many babies." Said Stiles's lawyer, John Spinko, about recent testimony before the Grange commission: "These are personal opinions without factual basis. This is evidence that no Crown attorney would ever look at, but it is being published in the newspapers."

Lawyers' dissatisfaction with the course of the Grange inquiry produced other effects. In the Ontario Superior Court, Spinko won the right to appeal a month-old criminal court decision that granted commission chairman Grange the right to name anyone he may eventually conclude was responsible for the infant's deaths. And at the hearing itself, Grange severely rebuked another lawyer, Frances Kitley, for public statements she had made earlier this month. Kitley, who represents other nurses at the hospital, had said that the nurses were "mutilated babies" and that the Grange commission had become a "mother-in-law inquiry." Grange warned that if Kitley made any further allegations, he would use his powers under the Public Inquiries Act to cite her for contempt.

These are precisely the powers that concern opponents of the inquiry system. Across Canada, provincial legislation gives various industries and consumers' interests many of the rights of courts. They can call witnesses and cite them for contempt. For failure to testify, even though no one is facing a criminal charge. In such circumstances, individuals do not have all the rights that a trial setting provides. At a preliminary hearing, accused persons can choose to remain silent. If they feel their testimony would be self-incriminating. But no one is accused at a public inquiry or inquest, and under the provisions of provincial and federal evidence legislation witnesses must answer questions.

Now the University of Ottawa's Ratzlaff is concerned that inquiries could become a weapon to subvert the intentions of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Said Ratzlaff: "They promise a technical or technical means of restoring the rights of the Charter." The Quebec government has taken one step toward limiting the power of inquiries by tightening up the Consumers' Act. Ratzlaff and other critics of the inquiry system will be watching the results of the Grange hearings with special interest.

—SHEILA McKEAY in Toronto

ADVERTISING

A battle over cholesterol

The newspaper advertisement last week was judgment. It held letters the dairy farm-discount Dairy Bureau of Canada placed three-quarter-page ads in 150 French and English newspapers and magazines, proclaiming, "Fleischmann's is wrong!" It was a pointed response to advertising by Toronto-based Nabisco Brands, makers of Fleischmann's margarine, which

protested: "There should be laws to prevent this sort of thing from happening."

It is not the first time that the margarine and dairy industries have challenged each other in advertisements, but the current battle is the most heated. At issue are the results of a 10-year study of 3,806 patients across Canada and the United States which provided confirmation of what doctors had suspected for years: lowering cholesterol intake reduces the risk of heart disease.

The Dairy Bureau charges that the study, cited in the initial Fleischmann advertisement, never mentioned butter and eggs and only investigated the effects of cholesterol-lowering drugs, not of diet. Said the Toronto-based Dairy Bureau's vice-president of nutrition, John Lestage: "The conclusion to that research is simply that by using a drug such as cholesterol-lowering agents ready at high risk, you can reduce the blood serum cholesterol. And that is all the research is saying." And according to Lestage, the results were based on studies of men who already had high cholesterol of heart attacks because of their high blood cholesterol and could not be taken as valid for everyone. Added Lestage: "These are very sick people to start with." The Dairy Bureau advertisement continued, "Fleischmann's also suggests that normal, healthy people need to change their eating habits as a result of the study."

Countered Robert Allen, director of marketing for the Consumer Foods division of Nabisco: "We have not misled consumers. As a matter of fact, we have not even presented a Fleischmann's interpretation." Allen insisted that Nabisco advertising simply referred to media reports and advised to supply information from the study that supported his view. Allen said that normal, healthy people need to change their eating habits, including margarine, are healthier. Said Allen: "The study is definitive."

But Little, of the cholesterol study, found the advertisement's use of the group's report dishonest. Allen refused to take sides in the dispute. Little commented, "I think it is very unfortunate that our findings are being taken out of context by advertisers." With the \$500-million-a-year Canadian butter and margarine industry at stake, the battle may escalate. If it does, Little may be forced to speak out.

—DAVE SILBERT in Toronto



Allen: 'The study is definitive'

appeared in newspapers across the country shortly after U.S. and Canadian scientists announced on Jan. 19 that they had confirmed a link between cholesterol and heart disease. Fleischmann's ran advertisements that featured headlines from several publications, including *Maclean's*, proclaiming that the study proved that foods—frying butter—had been connected to heart attacks. But last week scientists who wrote the report were furious that their study had become ammunition in an advertising war. Said Toronto Dr. Allen Little, a professor of medicine at the University of Toronto and Canadian director of the Joint U.S.-Canadian



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CRIME

A new credit card ruse

For most consumers, the introduction of charge cards and electronic banking was a welcome innovation that freed them from the need to carry cash and wait in long bank lines. But for a minority, the credit card revolution has opened new ways to commit crime. Most criminals simply use stolen cards to buy a succession of moderately priced goods from several stores before they abandon or destroy the cards. But now creative criminals in Vancouver have introduced a new element into charge card fraud—one that has caused panic among credit card companies that fear the trend may spread. Said Susan de Boer, manager of communications for the Toronto Dominion Bank: "We are a little bit sensitive about media coverage on this kind of thing."

The new ruse involves tapping phones and buying jewelry with stolen credit cards. In one case last month a woman purchased \$2,500 worth of jewelry from an estate and Vancouver merchant with a Toronto Dominion Visa card. Because Visa usually demands phone authorization on purchases of more than \$75, the jeweller phoned the authorization centre in Toronto and was given a number and clearance to proceed with the sale. In fact, however, the jeweller had not been talking to anyone in Toronto, but to the purchaser's partner who, with stolen B.C. telephone equipment, had tapped into the store's telephone line and intercepted the call to Toronto. The jeweller, who was suspicious because the interceptor had not asked the routine authentication questions, alerted credit card investigators the next day. He discovered that the credit card had been stolen and that he had been robbed. Since January credit card thieves using a similar system struck six Vancouver jewelry stores in three weeks, stealing \$30,000 worth of goods. As a result, Visa may now have to reimburse the jewelry firms.

According to police and Visa investigators, it was the first time that this type of scheme has been used in either Canada or the United States. But even the most hard-headed approaches to crime have a limited life expectancy. Said Staff Sgt. John McMillan of the Vancouver fraud squad: "If they do it enough, we catch them."

—JANE O'HARA in Vancouver

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BOOKS

A comrade comes of age

LOVE IS A LONG SHOT
By Ted Allan
(McClelland and Stewart,
276 pages, \$36.95)

Ted Allan has made his name with two startlingly different books, his widely translated 1964 biography of Dr. Norman Bethune, *The Good and the Beautiful*, and his portrait of Montreal bygone, *Less My Father Told Me*. Now Allan has merged elements of each in one brief novel, *Love is a Long Shot*, an engaging study of a youth's

ascent in the cigar store of Eddie Keller, a happy-go-lucky underworld figure who uses the shop as a cover for his gambling den. Although they disagree about politics, the older man and Davis are soon close friends. The youth learns more about society from his work in the store than from all his cell's preoccupations put together.

While the author shows an occasional gift for satire, the novel does not have a sharp political edge. Its major theme is innocence. Allan explores urban grit and poverty with a wide-eyed gusto. Except for an American gangster who inspires fear throughout the book, most of the characters in *Love is a Long Shot* are decent, harmless men. The plot also includes a few elements of pure fairy tale. When Davis has an irresistible gift for picking the winners of horse races, his hapless Uncle Willie has an equally amazing knack for choosing horses that can last as long as he. Their chosen outside for the first time in the final scene of the book, when, in a pace of happy-handed alchemy, both bet their longshots named Louis will outrace silver horses called Utopia, Self-Delusion and Forever Hopeful.

Allan's characters rarely step out of stereotype; they are easily as obvious as the names of his houses. Davis Webber is the latest in an endless stream of bright Jewish boys in Canadian literature who have attained wealth in the welcoming arms of unrepentant, French-Canadian Catholic girls. Davis's mother, suspicious, strong and devoted, seems a caricature of the archetypal Jewish mother. Unfortunately, Allan struggles for too much a role in the most interesting character in the novel, Davis's father, an impractical inventor who suffers from depression and converts to Buddhism. His own son "figured he was a border who had moved in long ago and had signed on to move out." But Webber is a tragic character who has wandered into a comic novel, and Allan is unsure how to portray him. In his devotion to sweetness and flax, the author abandons clever ideas and humorous possibilities as fast as he takes them up. For all its lively wit, *Love is a Long Shot* seems a mere sketch of the novel Ted Allan really wanted to write.

—MARK ADLER



Allan: harmless gangsters, decent gamblers

coming of age and the radical politics of the Depression. But its scenes of illegal gambling, revolutionary terror and prostitution are not grim or forbidding. Allan writes with a practiced, wistful charm, and his book will send many readers away believing, for the moment, that the 1930s were indeed "wonderful days."

Love is a Long Shot describes an era distant enough to allow nostalgia to cloud its brutal reality. Set in downtown Montreal, it focuses on Davis Webber, 17, one of four members of a Trotskyist cell that grants repulsive breadwinners to convince the nation that revolution is imminent. To help his impoverished family, Davis becomes an

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The sex lives of proper Victorians

EDUCATION OF THE SENSES

The Bourgeois Experience: Victoria to Freud, Volume One (Oxford University Press, 515 pages, \$29.95)

Victorians themselves were the first to pass judgment on their times. The understanding view of the 19th-century middle-class life painted by social critics from Charles Dickens to Karl Marx is still largely held today. The bourgeois's inner and negative capitalism was one easy target. The hypocrisy of Victorian sex life was another: the wife grinded her teeth and thought of children, forcing her respectable husband to seek more pleasant sexual pastures elsewhere. From such an environment only neurosis could grow, and Sigmund Freud, who harvested the insights of psychoanalysis from the late Victorian bourgeoisie, only seemed to prove the point.

With *Education of the Senses*, Yale history professor Peter Gay has begun a multivolume project to reassess the 19th-century bourgeois experience. It is a wildly ambitious exercise in psychohistory in which Gay uses Freud's fundamentals of human experience—love, aggression and conflict—as his building blocks. The first volume deals with the hidden sex lives of the bourgeoisie, terrain that would be hard for any historian to map of all the Victorian passions that Gay reveals, the lust for privacy was perhaps the strongest. His materials are diaries, journals and letters, pamphlets, dime predictions from doctors, popular culture and art, and the first products of the fledgling discipline of sociology. Despite his title, which implies that he is trying to see the bourgeoisie into an inner world as its previous critics have, Gay confesses that his research is proof of a multiplicity of lives and only hints at an overriding sensuality.

Education of the Senses, as a salute to the individual nature of experience and to Freud, opens with an analytical biography of an unusual American, Mahel Louisa Todd. As a first step toward a reinterpretation of 19th-century female sexuality, Todd is notable not only for her strong desires but for the candor with which she expressed them in her diary. She began by loving "a little heaven just after dinner" with her husband, David Todd, and then moved on, with Todd's help, to a long-term affair with Emily Dickinson's brother, Austin, a married man old enough to have been her father. Mahel Todd was unique, but to her defender Gay adds

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other parts of passionate Victorian marriage, and he also shows that members of the 19th-century bourgeoisie themselves did not think of women as sexually anesthetized. In fact, says Gay, the sexual image of the female fatal replaced the byronic image of dangerous manhood in 19th-century literature and art. Man's fear of women, heightened by the growing movement for women's rights, was one reason for the century's invention of separate spheres for the sexes, with the pure wife-mother keeping hearth and home safe for the moral raising of the family. It was an attractive attitude to society.

The Victorians were much more aware than they allowed and were not conscious hypocrites in hiding from other aspects of burgeoning sexual knowledge. The century reflects perfectly Freud's theories of the necessary hypocrisy of civilization—the kind that keeps people repressed in society. The century that Gay describes is not so much proper as actively coping with massive cultural change, the evolving position of women, the conscious mass attempt to control fertility through contraception and abortion, the virulent medical crusade against masturbation, pornography and onanism, the sexual purity and sexual hygiene movements. In fact, the Victorians are not strangers from another time, but parents whose aging children see finally coming to understand them.

—ANNE COLLINS

MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

Fiction

- 1 *Pet Sematary*, King (2)
- 2 *The Name of the Rose*, Eco (2)
- 3 *Poisoned*, McEwan (2)
- 4 *Bluehead's Egg*, Atwood (2)
- 5 *The Wicked Day*, Stewart (2)
- 6 *Berlin Game*, Deighton (2)
- 7 *Robots of Dawn*, Asimov (2)
- 8 *The Danger*, Proulx (2)
- 9 *A Time For Justice*, Callaghan (2)
- 10 *The Little Drummer Girl*, Jeannot (2)

Nonfiction

- 1 *The Game*, Dryden (2)
- 2 *In Search of Excellence*, Peters and Waterman Jr. (2)
- 3 *You Can't Print That*, Lynch (2)
- 4 *Intrepid's Last Case*, Stevenson (2)
- 5 *Centuries*, Martin, Greenwood/Parkus (2)
- 6 *The Money Spinners*, McQuinn (2)
- 7 *Other People's Money*, Foster (2)
- 8 *Get Smart: Make Your Money Count*, Maclean (2)
- 9 *Look No—No Brads*, Pottle/Kempster (2)
- 10 *No Sex Please... We're Married*, Leshner

1) Fiction list week

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A barometer of violence

A black and white photograph of a young man with dark hair, looking slightly to the left. He is wearing a dark, military-style jacket with a large flap pocket on the chest. The background is plain and light-colored.

1
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on, who constitutes an undue risk as far as we are concerned." It is a very, very real problem." In deciding whether to release a reprint, Holmes said that she also takes into consideration whether the man has been under the strain of the influence of alcohol and whether he has shown remorse or sought treatment. But the conflict between depriving a man of his freedom and unleashing a violent attacker on the public is a profound one. Holmes explained. "One of my colleagues has taken to waking up at night and thinking about cases I sleep well at night because I tell myself that I have done the best I can."



gross offender

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when he shoved a rabbit under the wheels of a train. And justice officials argue that a harmful public's position attitude toward offenders in the 1970s influenced politicians to introduce new, tougher legislation that depended on assessments of probable behavior as the part of the offender. Michael Pettit, senior research officer in the federal solicitor general's department, reported that Parliament passed Canada's dangerous offender legislation in 1997 as an assessment measure after it had abolished capital punishment in 1976. In a paper published in 1988 in the *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry*, Pettit wrote that because the public still favored the death penalty, politicians realized "that if capital punishment was to go, it was necessary to provide other controls such as lifetime incarceration and the dangerous offender provision that would be likely to be perceived as sufficiently stringent to allay the concerns about violent release of the general public and various interest groups."

In a similar move in 1982 the National Parole Board responded to mounting public fear that too many prisoners released under the rules of mandatory supervision went on to commit violent acts. The legislation, which Parliament passed in 1970, required prison officials to release well-behaved

prisoners after they had served two-thirds of their sentence. For nine months the board ordered parole to stand at prison gates and re-arrest prisoners that the board had deemed were dangerous to the public. Officials then returned them to jail to serve out their full sentences.

Within the prison system the notion of dangerousness is used extensively and leads to close confinement and loss of privileges for hundreds of inmates. Under a policy adopted in 1977, prisoners that a committee of three correction officers deems as "particularly dangerous" can be confined in a special holding unit for a minimum of two years.

Still, justice officials have accepted some advice from critics. In May, 1980, the Supreme Court of Canada put a stop to the board's "gutting" activities. In overturning the policy the court ruled that the board did not have the authority to prejudge what a prisoner's behavior might be when the inmate was released. And last month Justice Minister Mark MacDonagh announced that he intended to eliminate a requirement in the dangerous offenders' legislation which required psychiatrists to predict future behavior. As well, he indicated that he would end indefinite prison terms instead, the dangerous offender designation would mark a mandatory

term of life imprisonment with parole only after 30 years.

But Pettit contends that MacDonagh's proposals are simply a more extensive application of the notion of dangerousness. Said Pettit: "The proposals assume that a person who commits a violent offense is dangerous and should be put away for the rest of his days. And the proposal for parole after at least 30 years is only delaying the dangerousness decision. The parole board would then face the same dilemma as psychiatrists do now in attempting to predict the future in dangerous offender applications. In fact, the board would have to rely on assessments made by psychiatrists and psychologists in the institution where an offender had been serving his time."

Clearly, predictions of future behavior will continue to play a major role in Canada's penal system. Presumably to ease the overcrowding in Canada's prisons and the tension of the federal government to encourage sentencing alternatives, such as community service rather than jail terms, will increase the need to decide who stays behind bars and who leaves. And the criterion for the critical decisions about public safety versus individual liberty will continue to be the imperfect measuring stick of dangerousness.

—AICHEL JOHNSON in Toronto.

Awkward terms of endearment

HARRY AND SON
Directed by Paul Newman



Bridges and Ward soft pornography and a Macken Travelogue

FILMS

The missing centrefold

AGAINST ALL ODDS
Directed by Taylor Hackford

The impressively moody 1945 film *Out of the Past* was almost a prototype for its genre—the dark-hood film of the 1940s with its uneasy elements of nasty characters, criminal acts and dirty dealings. Its spirit lay under the hood in a line that Robert Mitchum virtually spit at the double-breasted female feline (Jane Greer): "You're like the leaves that the wind blows from gutter to gutter." Against All Odds, which revolves and totally gulches the plot, has nothing to match the classic toughness of that line. The movie is so atmospherically laid that it is all wind and no gutter.

In *Against All Odds* Jeff Bridges takes on the Mitchum role of Terry Rogers, as large a critical detourist, but an over-the-hill football player. Kicked off the team, he is not only moping a bad shoulder injury but is heavily in debt. A bookmaker and nightclub owner, Joie Wink (Sharon Woods), offers him a large sum of money to search for his runaway girlfriend, the rich and spoiled Jesse Winkler (Richard Ward). Bridges finds the elusive Jesse living alone in Mexico, and at first she resists him. Then, after falling for him, she mysteriously returns to him in Los Angeles. Following her, Bridges uncovers a network of corruption surrounding Jesse's adopted family (Richard Widmark and Jane Greer)

which he never dreamed existed.

What made *Out of the Past* so emotionally effective was a leading narrative drive and the more Bridges pined up his muscles for his role, but his acting process has softened—and he certainly does not have the dangerous quest that gave Mitchum his hypnotic screen presence. The movie's greatest flaw, however, is Ward, whose actions seem entirely unswayed and whose honesty has everything except the most important quality: mystery. Greer's was a truly evil creation—a woman who literally lured after her control. Ward seems as dangerous as a centrefold in the bedsheet mode. Woods captures the character's psychosis, although not the real menace behind it. Only Jane Greer, as Ward's ruthless mother, is sure of the shadowy terrain.

Directed by Taylor Hackford (his *Offend and a Gentleman*) is certainly unfamiliar with the territory as he goes in the dark, lurking from one kind of movie to another. One minute it is soft-core pornography, as Ward emerges from the water in a sex-through-kisses; the next minute it seems to be a Mexican telenovela. Hackford throws in civic corruption, drug dealing and even a car chase, whipping action to a fast conclusion in the hope that it will absorb the gaps in the plot's logic. There is enough different material in *Against All Odds* for several movies—more terribly good. —LAWRENCE O'TOOLE

Harry and Son is every bit as dreary as it is well-meaning. As a starlet Newman murders and dandles, jumping from one subject to another and privileging scenes to the point of stupefaction. A pet-shop owner (Jeanne Woodward), who has long been interested in Harry romantically, admonishes him: "It can't be an open wound forever." Her pregnant daughter (Ellen Barkin), who lives with him and is obviously married, has her baby in the back seat of a cab. Every little vignette—a secretary (Judith Ivey) seducing Harlow, or Harry visiting his mother before (Wilford Brinley)—seems to be rather pointless, at best is negligible. The movie drops in casually on its characters, only to find them doing little of interest.

Perhaps the theme of *Harry and Son* is still too close to Newman, whose own son died as a result of an overdose several years ago, for him to have a dramatic perspective on it. There is a lot of pity in his performance, but it is an inarticulate pain, the aching is so belated that it barely registers any characterization. As Harlow, who naturally has his first sexual intercourse shortly after the birth of the baby in the cab—Benson is curiously misnamed, showing too many teeth and winking too much up. And the notion that the off-the-kilter Benson is Newman's son is too much to believe. A Mack story in the past week took us more out of place in more than one scene, Harry and Son seem hardly related. —LOVE.



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Salute to a vibrant revolutionary

By Gillian MacKay

When Norval Morrisseau, a self-taught painter from Northern Ontario, made his startling debut as the Canadian art scene 22 years ago with fresh, bold paintings that had derived from Cree-Ojibwa mythology, an entire movement in native art sprang up almost overnight. Morrisseau's resounding commercial success reawakened countless other Ontario Indians to copy his style, and before long every corner of the national art market was flooded with work by the Woodland school of painters. The strong ethnic character of the work helped to make it hugely popular during the 1960s and 1970s, but, as in the case of Inuit and West Coast Indian art, cultural institutions tended to treat it as an anthropology rather than high art. Although the National Museum of Man readily collected and exhibited the work, the major public art galleries ignored it. Now, as the commercial boom has collapsed under the weight of over-exposure, the Art Gallery of Ontario (AGO) is finally paying tribute with *Norval Morrisseau and the Emergence of the Image Maker*, an exhibition of 49 works by seven artists, which opened Feb. 18 and will travel across Ontario over the next year.

The spirit of Morrisseau's electric imagery and explosive intensity as the gallery's mature white walls is an event of symbolic importance to champions of Indian painting, who have long raged against its exclusion from the bastions of high culture. As Jack Pollock, Morrisseau's original Toronto dealer, famed in 1973, "Their treatment of Indian artless as ethnological oddities is nothing less than racist." Even now the low-spirited recognition by the art has not silenced the snarl. The number of works in the modestly produced 118-page catalogue indicates that the welcome is more

of a polite handshake than an enthusiastic embrace.

Yet the exhibition marks an important first effort to examine the Woodland school from an art-history perspective. According to exhibitors co-curators Elizabeth Melakas, the ethnological approach has detracted from public understanding of native artists. Said Melakas: "The fact that they have been

tant contribution to the understanding of the revolutionary figure. She describes his impact on six other well-known Indian artists—Blake Dubois, Jack Kichimung, Daphne Odjig, Carl Ray, Roy Thomas and Saul Williams—but their inclusion in the show only tends to enhance the lowering status of Morrisseau. Such is the number and quality of works, he as dominates the exhibition that most of his followers seem at best his pale reflections. Odjig's messy caricatures, paintings, Williams's cheerful, decorative portraits and Ray's black-and-white illustrations of Indian legends are of little artistic interest.

Such a scarcity of major figures is perhaps not surprising in a school of art that, in less than 25 years, did not produce a single work. Before the closing decades, pursuing spiritual enlightenment and exploring his attitude toward white culture. In *Men and Snake* (1965) the artist portrays the tortured side of his personality as a figure entwined with a snake-coiled serpent—symbols of destructive passion. In *Portrait of the Artist as Jesus Christ* (1966), he depicts himself with a halo carrying the traditional shaman's medicine bag, symbolizing a confident and grandiose fusion of two religious and cultural traditions. But *The Gift* (1970), a later, highly disturbing work, in which a white man spreads an evil-looking pool by touching an Indian father and his child, displays a profound sense of alienation.

The exhibition, which shows only the highlights of Morrisseau's artistically uneven output, demonstrates that he has lost none of his vitality in recent years. But as Melakas observes in her essay, his followers must copy his style if any are to emerge as major figures in their own right. Among the younger artists, Dubois appears the most promising. His dramatic use of line, soft, blended colors and lyrical sensibility bears the least resemblance to Morrisseau. A work and experimental spiritual relationships in his early ink drawing *Coming Away* (1959) he experimented with the spidery lines and tiny angular symbols of the scrolls. But the deft, cluttered work given him. Hint of the force and emotional clarity of his mature style, which emerged in the early 1960s in such paintings as *Serpent*

Legend, in that powerful work a huge C-shaped serpent inspires spiritual power to a shaman-like figure by a wavy connecting line. Early on, Morrisseau demonstrated a rare ability to unify his compositions with strong, sinuous black outlines and large, simplified shapes, which seemed to explode the edge of the canvas.

Once Morrisseau had established his style, he refused but did not substantially alter it. He grew bolder in his use of color, moving from the subdued earth tones of the early period to the vibrant red, blue and black stained-glass style of such works as *Joseph With Christ Child* and *St. John the Baptist* (1971) to the positively garish use of bright orange backgrounds in the art-painterly *Men Changing Into Animals* (1977). His compositions became more sophisticated in later paintings such as *Winding the Thunderbird* (1972), in which complex patterns of rhythmic lines and shapes convey a sense of boundless energy and joy.

Despite Morrisseau's considerable formal dexterity, the often savage power of the work derives mainly from the highly charged personal content. Morrisseau views his art as an exorcism of his inner self, a vehicle for the cleansing process, pursuing spiritual enlightenment and exploring his attitude toward white culture. In *Men and Snake* (1965) the artist portrays the tortured side of his personality as a figure entwined with a snake-coiled serpent—symbols of destructive passion. In *Portrait of the Artist as Jesus Christ* (1966), he depicts himself with a halo carrying the traditional shaman's medicine bag, symbolizing a confident and grandiose fusion of two religious and cultural traditions. But *The Gift* (1970), a later, highly disturbing work, in which a white man spreads an evil-looking pool by touching an Indian father and his child, displays a profound sense of alienation.

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THEATRE

An epitaph with passion

When the Grand Theatre's new production of *Hamlet* opened in London, Ont., last week, it again demonstrated the company's creative potential. But the actual performance did not fulfil that promise, and just a few hours after the curtain fell the Grand's artistic director, John Phillips, revealed that there would be



Carver: on a trampoline of ecstasy

no more opportunities to do so. Phillips resigned and announced the dismantling of his classical repertory company. Already laboring under a crushing \$1.5-million deficit, the Grand's board did not accept Phillips' reduced budget proposal for next season. Still, flashes of glory shone through director John Neville's flawed *Hamlet*.

The role of Hamlet is a benchmark for actors, and Brent Carver has been working up to it for years. A supremely

physical performer, he built himself across the stage in alienating spaces of ecstasy and despair. What Carver lacks in nuance—very little in his robust performance is "neither" but with the physicality of a bull—he simply makes up for in passionate conviction. But in the last two acts, the flood of great soliloquies drive up, and Hamlet must carry the play on contemplative resolve alone. There, Carver cannot sustain interest, and his tragic heroism seems flat and anticlimactic.

Carver's quivering physical qualities suggest the hysteria of sexual repression in Neville's interpretation, the insistence of Polonius (Leo Leyden) that Hamlet's madness stems from Ophelia's rejection seems extremely foolish. Neville makes it clear from the start, in fact, that Carver's last is what sets the state of Denmark. Claudius (William Hutt) and Gertrude (Martha Henry) handle each other constantly, when Hamlet broods in one room and his mother, their busy diaries in a sensual, lingering kiss. But Gertrude is more than just an official object to Hamlet: her sexuality is primal, flowing out to all she touches. At her most animal, she battles her fingers in a selfless goodbye to Hamlet as he kills the body of Polonius away, before she picks up a mirror and fans her makeup.

Neville's vision of sexuality in Elizabethan feels, however, despite Henry's superb laconicism and Hutt's superbly modulated transition from amorant to ruthless destroyer. Because Neville has not immersed the action and characters in his theme, the production is merely suggestive instead of outrageous. Important connections are missing too often as the actors speak in a streamer instead of coining together and striking sparks. Leyden's Polonius was wary, disruptive laughs, Donna Goodhart's Ophelia made more wistful and enigmatic except Henry and Hutt move their together in delusion of passion and stress.

Inevitably and unfairly, Hamlet will be the Grand company's epitaph. Given time, its artistic standards, not only is Hamlet but overall, would almost certainly improve. Although Phillips lingers to revitalize his company in the future, Carver may go back to university, depriving Canadian theatre of a potentially great romantic male lead. London's glorious dream may now be a longed-for pursuit, but its current production of *Hamlet* is as honest tribute to its memory. —MARK CHARNOCK

Casting for the lead role

By Alina Fotheringham

The Prime Minister of Canada is basically an actor, a clever manipulator of his own image. He enjoys the stage and, while pretending to be unaware of the audience, plays it like a mandolin. Pierre Trudeau professes to be annoyed at the attention given his leave-taking but he waltzes in the suspense, dragging out the drama, keeping on all suspended in anticipation. Why, if he won't sell it in the political version of the Châtelain? The public be now, in fact, is rather bored by the whole extended soap opera, waiting for Harry

Leider to give his last farewell. Neither taking her last curtain call. Bizarre appearing in his absolutely final concert. But those few who are not bored are frenetic, their knees in a knot, fingers numb, gnawed down to the elbow. Their supporters chafe, and their bagmen grow restless, pleading for postdated cheques and borrowed executive jets.

P.H.U. regards the manless beneath him to the elbow. Their supporters chafe, and their bagmen grow restless, pleading for postdated cheques and borrowed executive jets. P.H.U. regards the manless beneath him to the elbow. Their supporters chafe, and their bagmen grow restless, pleading for postdated cheques and borrowed executive jets.



Joan Chedoke: His meter reeling so fast there is a danger the bearings will wear out. Very impatient. Claims to have some 45 Liberal MPs in his pocket. But that's just for the first ballot. Miss my, last seat works, no shame. Anglo-Canada will not accept another leader from Quebec in succession, especially since Mulroney is from there also. Sorry facts of life.

John Roberts: The Billy Barrier of the Liberal race. How can one run for leadership who is almost a certain of losing and so? Winsome John, darling of the cocktail circuit, specializes in impenetrable. Cute face, quick tongue, charming guest at dinner tables that launch a thousand gifts. Slightly at sea in real world some way from the ovals. How do real things, but what would politics be without ego? Why else would anyone go into politics?

Mark McGowan: The race gets more ridiculous the further it goes. The just-Alina Fotheringham is a columnist for *Southam News*.

the minister was himself as the Trudeau of 1984, dispensing liberalized divorce laws like petal blossoms. Sadly needs a charisma transplant. Choosing young Liberals. Choosing moonbeams, too, in this battle.

Rogaine Whelan: Looks about him, at other putative chiefs, and laughs. If John Roberts is a contender, why not a green felt cowboy hat? Speaks a semi-verse of one of the two official languages. A Central Canadian who tries to look like a westerner, as befits his Agriculture post. Ends up looking like a man looking for the Liberal leadership

Carol Rogers: Nova Scotia's answer to a vacuum. Chances thinner than his hair. Really just trying for a more important cabinet spot. Only problem is that another government is going to be in power. His great sense of humor. Needs it, considering his fail-

Ian Campagna: Epeirobus can stop traffic at 50 paces. The more she denies she's interested, the more there is pressure from the feminist lobby that she accept an orchestrated draft. She probably right, that she is now ranting with Chrétien in second place for potential delegate support. Has visited every riding in the country as party president. Other candidates think this unfair. What else is politics?

the Gales: The Peter Pan of Spadina sees himself as a midget version of Walter Gordon's automobile company of Older Canadians. Actually comes across as Macdonald King in red suspenders. Fancies his charisma, is likely because as a bachelorette he follows in the great King-Trudeau bachelor lineage. Would you

elect a man who has never been in a supermarket? Spadina didn't.

Donald Macdonald: Has sunk beneath the waves of his weighty constitution, the most capricious venture since Amelia Earhart went missing on her round-the-world flight. She was never found either. Too bad, Good guy. Needing a life preserver, Trudeau threw him an axill.

Mark Gray: Has the very same chance as the two other runners from Windsor, Ont. Blah. Only regret is the disappearance, due to leadership aspirations, of the last remaining crew cut since Mackay Spillane. It's hard to see institutions die.

Paul Martin Jr.: Will be in only if Turner is out. Otherwise, will wait for another day. The sea real dark horse, Andropov's prostration leaving him almost no more to jockey. Unknown to public, impressive business connections.

Judy Kriss: Tough as honey-coated barbed wire. To succeed, needs a philanthropist with \$500,000 in his degnar jeans. If Campagna stays out, would be prepared to be the female candidate. Future as sea. Only 40-year-old in the land with a punk haircut. Will get the slenderness vote.

John Turner: Most remarkable story in Canadian politics. Man who virtually has not opened his mouth in public for nine years in the leading candidate to become the next Liberal leader and, automatically, prime minister. May have turned into a vivisectionist, hatch breeder and born-again Socialist for all the voters know. Harrow line it is looking ruffly and out of it. Not true. Look great. Modestly declines any accolades for the post, his supporters drooling at the mouth to spring his release into gear. He has trained so long for this heat to back out now.

Pierre Trudeau: Longs to stay at Sussex Drive. Has learned to like the idea of servants. Would like to pull Uncle Sam's tail once more at economic summit in London in June. Dreams of strutting the world stage with the Pope in September. Party promises too strong. Politics too revealing. He's not wanted. Shed a tear. The trapezist's through.

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